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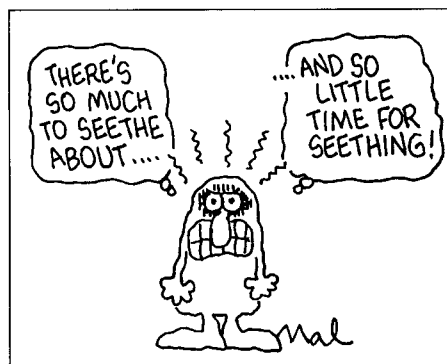
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*J.D. Power and Associates 1997 APEAL Study—Automotive Performance, Execution and Layout Study.™ Segment: Compact van. Study based on a total of 29,187 consumer responses.

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NATIONAL REVIEW

JULY 20, 1998 VOL. L, NO. 13



COVER STORY

36 *Violent Fantasies*

A new study says the mentally ill are not any more violent than the sane. **Sally Satel** & **D. J. Jaffe** aren't buying it. . . . Why, asks **Margaret A. Hagen**, do feminists want to coddle wife-beaters? . . . Punishing your children can mean jail time, reports **Barbara Lerner**.

ARTICLES

20 *Capital Scene*

Christopher Caldwell impeaches the reasoning of those ready to oust President Clinton. . . . **Michael Ledeen** argues that impeachment is what the President—indeed, the country—deserves. . . . **John J. Miller** isn't counting on a fair census from the Clinton Administration. . . . **Kate O'Beirne** explains why the tobacco bill went up in smoke.

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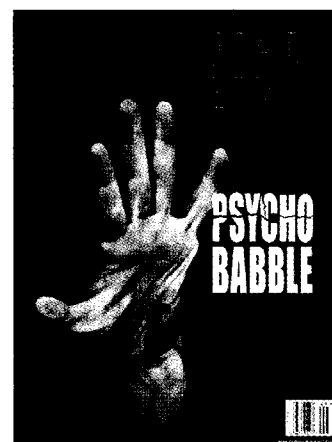
When, wonders **Cristopher Rapp**, will **Karen Finley** get a new act?

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

44 In *A Mother's Place*, Susan Chira says new mothers should put in overtime—at the office. **Danielle Crittenden** wonders what Miss Chira's children think. . . . **J. B. Kelly** reads Noel Malcolm's *Kosovo* and concludes that the region's current troubles have been a long time coming. . . . Attempts to place Christ into historical context usually say more about the writer than about Jesus, **Paula Fredriksen** points out. Charlotte Allen's *The Human Christ* says even less than that. . . . Upon examining the evidence, **John O. McGinnis** finds John R. Lott Jr.'s *More Guns, Less Crime* right on target. . . . Stoicism is a lost art these days, **Andrew Stuttaford** complains. . . . *A Perfect Murder* is far from perfect, writes **John Simon**, but *Un Air de famille* comes close.

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LETTERS

Army on the March

I feel compelled to respond to the article by John J. Miller ["Today's Army," June 22] questioning Majority Leader Dick Armey's effectiveness as part of the Republican leadership. As a conservative who has urged the leadership in the House and Senate to put pro-family issues at the forefront of their agenda, I believe Dick Armey has been one of the most helpful leaders in advancing those issues.

Beyond his politics, I know Dick to be a man of integrity. I appreciate his dedication to causes he knows are right, such as the effort you noted to provide scholarships for children in the District who would otherwise be unable to go to the best schools.

Recently, Armey was the only congressional leader to condemn an executive order handed down from the President to mandate what amounts to special status for homosexuals. And in a move that persuasively defends human rights in China, Armey led the effort in the House to pass a resolution advising the President to avoid Tiananmen Square, the site of the 1989 massacre of demonstrating students.

Mr. Miller quoted an anonymous House Republican who stated, "In the TV age, sometimes it's better to be slick than good. He's [Armey's] good." I agree that my friend Dick Armey is good and submit that in the era of empty slick politics, it's more important to be good.

Gary L. Bauer
President, Family Research Council
Washington, D.C.

Blameless C-SPAN

In their June 22 cover story "Network Failure," Brent H. Baker and Tim Graham write: "In 1997, when the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee convened to investigate fundraising abuses at the Democratic National Committee, Sen. Fred Thompson's hearings were not aired during the day on C-SPAN, because of its commitment to cover Congress."

Some people have found this paradoxical, so may I explain? C-SPAN's commitment is to gavel-to-gavel coverage of any business conducted on the floor of the House of Representatives; C-SPAN2 has the same commitment to the Senate. On several occasions, Sen. Thompson's hearings were held while both the House and the Senate were in session. We did air the

entire day's testimony each night unedited and without commentary. We were also able to provide live access to the hearings through our web-site (www.c-span.org). And since then, C-SPAN Extra has been launched for just this sort of contingency.

John Maynard
C-SPAN
Washington, D.C.

Back to School

I trust that the thinking readers of *NR* are not taken in by Richard Nadler's clever miscasting of direct instruction as the solution to our educational problems ["Failing Grade," June 1]. As Nadler states, Direct Instruction is rooted not in education but in advertising and treats knowledge as a set of slogans to be memorized. It does well at helping children memorize these slogans but ends its responsibility there. In a long-term study of the effect of various types of preschool programs on poor children, we found that those who received Direct Instruction were eight times as likely to be treated for emotional disturbance and committed three times as many felonies as those whose program emphasized child-initiated learning activities. Hopefully, this extreme a result does not happen every time, but do we really want to take that chance?

DI is the answer only if we want our children to swallow whole whatever they are told and focus more on consumption than citizenship. If we want them to learn to take initiative, solve problems, and act responsibly, our educational programs should have them practice these virtues.

Lawrence J. Schweinhart, PhD
High/Scope Educational
Research Foundation
Ypsilanti, Mich.

Those who wish to evaluate my statements regarding Siegfried Engelmann's Direct Instruction curricula can read Gary Adams's Research on Direct Instruction, a meta-analysis of 25 years of rigorous studies of DI techniques. The evidence regarding Dr. Schweinhart's "High/Scope," a developmentalist educational program, is equally conclusive: it is a bust. Children who completed grade 3 in High/Scope averaged 30 percentiles below DI students on standardized tests. DI students outperformed their High/Scope peers in applications as well as memorization. High/

*Scope students underperformed even the control groups—students who received no supplemental programs. Schweinhart's assertion that DI induces criminal behavior is founded on samplings so trivial as to constitute a bad joke. Developmentalists assert that system learning constitutes an incitement to crime. I trust that the thinking readers of *NR* know better.*
—RN

Paycheck Parsimony

Congratulations for publishing Michael Lynch's "Protection Racket," [June 22] debunking the so-called paycheck-protection initiatives. In Congress this year, the real vehicle for employee freedom is HR-59, the House version of the National Right to Work Act, which would give workers a truly enforceable right to withhold their union dues if they don't want them spent on politics they disagree with. More than forty House Republicans have recently asked Speaker Gingrich and Majority Leader Armey to keep their 1996 campaign promise to hold a vote on right-to-work legislation. The leaders should heed their own caucus and Mr. Lynch's powerful logic and schedule a vote on HR-59 without further delay.

Stan Greer
News Director
National Right to Work Committee
Springfield, Va.

One in Every Crowd

In his review of *Empire by Default* by Ivan Musicant [June 22], John J. Miller perpetuates a mistake that historians are constantly committing.

To commence the battle of Manila in 1898 Dewey's first command was not, "You may fire when you are ready, Gridley." The first signal was: "You may fire at will, Gridley."

At Annapolis, Gridley was well known as the class cut-up, and that reputation deservedly continued all his career. His reply to Dewey was, "Which one is Will?" Dewey ignored the riposte but changed his order to the one that is generally accepted—but incorrect.

John Cusick
Sun City West, Ariz.

Wrong Number

In "Pick Your Poison" [June 22], I wrote that trial lawyers were likely to make \$4 to \$5 billion annually from tobacco cases, giving them "\$400,000 to \$500,000 a year to throw around on politics, if they spend just the interest." Would that they were such poor investors. I meant of course \$400 to \$500 million. (Thanks to John Staas for catching the error.)

Ramesh Ponnuru
Washington D.C.



Some members of Congress persist in advocating a "Washington Knows Best" federal mandate when it comes to electricity rate restructuring. These members of Congress still don't trust the States to do what they are already doing so well—bringing competition and choice to consumers.

The ever shifting proposal to nationalize America's electricity rates is still very troubling news for low cost states—like Kentucky, Idaho, Washington, Georgia and others—where a nationalized marketplace can only mean higher electricity bills!

And the latest patch-quilt proposal to nationalize America's electricity rates remains highly punitive for states that are still deliberating over the design of their state-based reforms. Many states that are debating deregulation would be forced to meet a capricious federal timeline or live forever under a heavy-handed federal regulatory regime.

We're Electric USA and we speak for many of the six million Americans who are shareholders in America's investor owned utilities. We are proud to count labor unions and 142 rural electric co-ops among our ranks.

We say "no" to any "Washington Knows Best" scheme to nationalize America's electricity rates!

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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FROM THE EDITOR

Shays's Law

"MY name is Chris," insists Rep. Chris Shays (R., Conn.), gently rebuffing an attempt to call him "Congressman." Shays says it in the soft, reassuring tones of a high-school counselor. His glasses and thinning white hair, his khaki pants and casual loafers, his soothing and engaging manner, all serve to reinforce the impression. He is congressman—excuse the expression—as professional nice guy.

Which doesn't prevent many of his GOP colleagues from loathing him. "He's so selfish," says one congressional aide. "He doesn't care anything about the rest of the party." It is thanks to Chris Shays that House Republicans will spend most of July debating a campaign-finance-reform bill that Republican leaders thought they had shelved weeks ago. The debate will benefit grandstanding Democrats and Chris Shays's conscience—both of which are inimical to GOP interests.

Shays hails from an upscale district that regularly re-elects him by comfortable margins. So it isn't electoral considerations that prompt him to buck his party leadership. Instead, Shays is just doing what he thinks is right, which lends a fervor to his party betrayals that makes them particularly galling to GOP regulars and particularly attractive to the press (lately, he has gotten the most favorable notice from the *New York Times* this side of John McCain).

As mavericks go, Shays is less the untamable populist than the earnest graduate student, a political transcendentalist determined to go his own way, untouched by the grubby reality of partisan politics. He talks constantly of "the system," of "the process." His two big issues—the balanced budget and campaign-finance reform—are both process related. And no process is quite as worthy as a "bipartisan" one. Shays's rhetoric, his demeanor, his policy proposals all ask imploringly: *Can't we all get along?*

The answer is no, which is why we have elections. Shays thinks the Republi-

can majority is now ignoring the message of the last important one, in 1994. According to Shays, the party of reform has steadily lost its fire. "Republicans," he complains, "are almost solely focused on how they can win re-election."

Of course, political parties are notorious for that. But Shays has a point. The highway bill—so prodigal that even President Clinton criticized it—is the most recent example of congressional Republicans getting too comfortable. Shays, to his credit, opposed the bill. But his answer to the waning reformist zeal of his colleagues is to pass a raft of new campaign-finance rules.

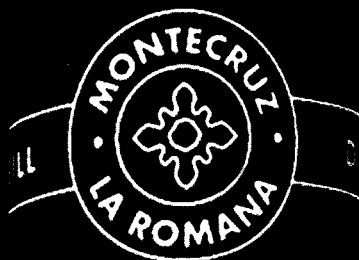
This is hardly the "reform" voters were clamoring for in 1994. That election was a revolt against Washington and the political class, all the preening insiders who think they know better than anyone else. Chris Shays, free of partisan or ideological influence, inevitably drifts toward the views of these permanent Washington insiders, the reporters and commentators who will be impressed with his "independence" even if Dick Armey isn't.

Hence, campaign-finance reform. Shays's bill would hand more control over politics to regulators. It would put a crimp in the efforts of independent political actors, from the unions to the National Right to Life Committee (Shays talks of "sham issue ads," which means not that they raise sham issues, but that they come at an inconvenient time for politicians—within sixty days of an election). And, finally, the soft-money ban would rein in political parties.

The political players the bill leaves unharmed are the press, the bureaucracies—and Chris Shays, who has little use for political parties. He, after all, has a higher calling. "I think, and I mean this literally," he says, "God works in strange and mysterious ways. I believe this is a righteous cause and I believe that we're doing well because of our cause. I really believe it."

Touching. But does God really care about contribution limits as much as the *New York Times*? —RICHARD LOWRY

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FOR THE RECORD

■ Federal bench now includes more Clinton than Reagan appointees. . . . Clinton reneges on promise to allow collective bargaining for uniformed Secret Service. Agents picket White House. . . . AFL-CIO President **John Sweeney**: "Al Gore is the most prominent leader since **Franklin Delano Roosevelt** to be so strong in his advocacy on behalf of American unions." On AFL-CIO's own website, "Union Summer" student activists are referred to as "summeristas" (<http://www.aflcio.org/publ/wip98/wip0615.htm>). . . . Anonymous Microsoft employee sends copies of **Ayn Rand's** novel *Atlas Shrugged* to state attorneys general joining in Justice Department lawsuit. **Bill Gates** schedules meeting with **Milton Friedman**. . . . At White House dinner, President Clinton tells **Peter Ferrara** of Americans for Tax Reform that budget surplus should be used "to finance the transition to private retirement accounts for Social Security."

■ Scripps Howard Texas Poll: Gov. **George W. Bush** (R.) leads **Garry Mauro** (D.) in governor's race 70 per cent to 17 per cent. When asked if it would affect their vote if Bush said he would run for President, 65 per cent said no. . . . New York City Mayor **Rudy Giuliani** proposes \$16.6-million high-tech emergency command center in World Trade Center for use in time of disaster. . . . Election of Rep. **Heather Wilson** (R., N.M.) marks fourth special-election defeat for Democratic strategy of linking GOP candidates to **Newt Gingrich**. . . . Sen. **John Kerry** (D., Mass.) attacks teacher certification process. . . . Sales director at local Holiday Inn tells Manchester (N.H.) *Union Leader* about room availability in the third week of February 2000: "We're sold out already." . . . New York Green Party recruits 88-year-old actor **Al Lewis** from 1960s TV show *The Munsters* to run for governor. . . . Phoenix considers renaming Sky Harbor International Airport after **Barry Goldwater**.

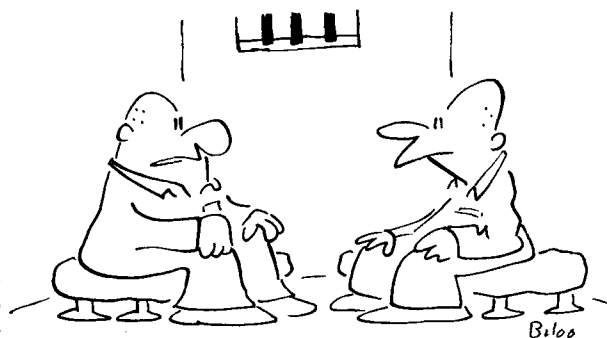
■ National Taxpayers Union names Sen. **Jon Kyl** (R., Ariz.) "Taxpayer's Best Friend" in Senate. . . . Former Rep. **Bob Dornan**, trying to recapture congressional seat, uses song "Tubthumper" by anarchist punk band Chumbawumba as background music for website. . . . Transplants optional? American Heart Association sends synthetic brain in jar to each member of Congress to encourage government-sponsored research on strokes. . . . Scripps Howard story on report by Committee for the Study of the American Electorate warns that November turnout may be lowest in history. . . . **Tipper Gore**: "When women vote, Democrats win." But *Time/CNN* poll: 65 per cent of women do not consider themselves feminists. Those most likely to: childless white women with some post-college education. . . . Pro-life news in *USA Today*: "Las Vegas bets on life: If an animal is adoptable, city says let it live." . . . Shocker headline in *New York Times*: "Some Prices Jump Despite a Pattern of Low Inflation."

■ *George* magazine poll asks, "Which federal institution are you most afraid of?" Response: 32 per cent say IRS, 12 per cent say CIA. . . . **Geraldo Rivera** on **Al Sharpton**: "One of the great civil-rights leaders in America." . . . Berkeley Law Dean **Herma Hill Kay**, explaining why favoring the economically disadvantaged would not be better than racial preferences in college admissions: "African Americans who apply to our law school are not disadvantaged. Their mothers and fathers are professionals

with good family incomes." . . . Center for Equal Opportunity finds that University of North Carolina system routinely rejects white applicants with higher test scores and grades than black applicants who are admitted. . . . Houston may get another chance to repeal racial preferences. Judge invalidates last fall's vote for "affirmative action" because pro-preference mayor put misleading language on ballot. Also, Houston-based Campaign for Colorblind America distributes national candidate questionnaire on racial preferences, will publish responses in October. . . . America's Future Foundation, hot new group of young conservative professionals, names **John S. Barry** president. . . . *Texas Review of Law and Politics* (www.trolp.org), scholarly journal run by conservative law students, enters third year.

■ Chinese have built a \$23,000 Western-style toilet with a seat and air conditioning for **Hillary Clinton**, according to *Chicago Tribune*. . . . Reports from China show that in 1990-96 1 in 4 Chinese rockets blew up. Success rate since then is 10 for 10. . . . People's Liberation Army is #1 visitor to U.S. Army's website, reports Rep. **Jim Gibbons** (R., Nev.), who calls it "China's Most Favored Website." . . . Australia's nationalist "One Nation" party doubles support in Queensland after surprise victories there. . . . Col. **Qaddafi** reportedly escapes assassination attempt in Benghazi region. Makes half-billion dollar arms-for-oil deal with **Nelson Mandela**, which could result in South Africa's supplying chemical and biological know-how. . . . **Fidel Castro** requests film footage of **Francisco Franco's** funeral, stirring speculation about Cuban dictator's health. . . . Britain's Labour government opens Stonehenge to druids for pagan rite on summer solstice. . . . **Elcio Berti**, mayor of Bocaiaiva do Sul, Brazil, tries to increase population and thus federal aid by giving away samples of Viagra: "They said my condom ban was unconstitutional and a health risk so I had to do something else."

■ Former *New Republic* writer **Stephen Glass**, fired for fabricating part or all of at least 27 articles, continues part-time studies at Georgetown Law School in Washington, D.C. Enrolls in course titled "Evidence."



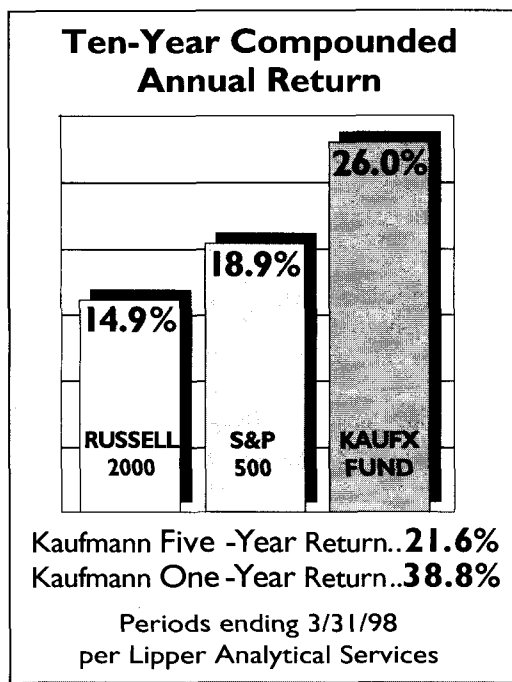
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- 11** **ALL-STAR GUESTS.** Joining WFB will be the biggest names in conservatism, including *NR* Editor **Rich Lowry**, former RNC boss **Haley Barbour**, GOP super-consultant **Ralph Reed**, former Congressman **Vin Weber**, Oklahoma Gov. **Frank Keating**, syndicated columnist **Cal Thomas**, *NR* Editor-at-Large **John O'Sullivan**, *NR* Washington Editor **Kate O'Beirne**, *The Bell Curve* author **Charles Murray**, former Senator **Malcolm Wallop**, and *NR* economic guru **Lawrence Kudlow**. Talk about an impressive line-up.
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THE WEEK

■ Next, President Clinton will assert executive–intern privilege.

■ According to Reuters, “A Czech company has sent 2,000 condoms, each tipped with a soccer ball and the flag of a participating nation, to the World Cup tournament in France.” Smile through your tears, soccer moms.

■ Linda Tripp has been portrayed as the villain of the Lewinsky affair, but she seems to have been just as vulnerable as her young friend. According to Mrs. Tripp, after a year of listening to Monica Lewinsky’s confidences about her relations with the President, she became worried that she might have to testify in the Paula Jones lawsuit. She sought the advice of Lucianne Goldberg, who had helped her with a book deal that had been abandoned the year before. Mrs. Goldberg told her to get corroborating evidence lest her testimony be challenged by Clinton’s hit-and-spin lawyers. Now this defense against Clintonite lawyers has opened Mrs. Tripp to a new line of attack—by Clintonite lawyers. In Maryland, taping phone conversations can draw a 5-year prison term and a \$10,000 fine, and disclosing the tapes is a separate offense with the same potential sentence and fine. No statute of limitations applies. The Democrat-appointed state prosecutor, Stephen Montanarelli, refuses to waive the charge even though Mrs. Tripp is a key witness in the most important federal investigation in the nation. Her lead attorney, Anthony J. Zaccagnini, tells *NR* that this threat “has handcuffed our ability to present Linda’s side of the story.” She talked to Ken Starr’s grand jury under a grant of “production immunity.” But nobody else will hear from her soon. The latest spin win for the President.

■ Another recipient of unwanted attention from the Clinton team, Kathleen Willey, has resurfaced. The woman who told the nation about the President’s gropings now says that a mysterious jogger accosted her with sinister questions about mishaps no stranger could have known about: a missing cat, vandalized tires. Did Nathan Landow, the Democratic moneybags who allegedly urged her to keep mum about the President, send a goon for emphasis? When *Newsweek* asked him, he gave an oddly lawyerlike answer: “Nothing at my direction . . . If somebody hired somebody to check somebody else out, so what?” (Cf. Henry II: “Who will free me from this turbulent squeeze?”)

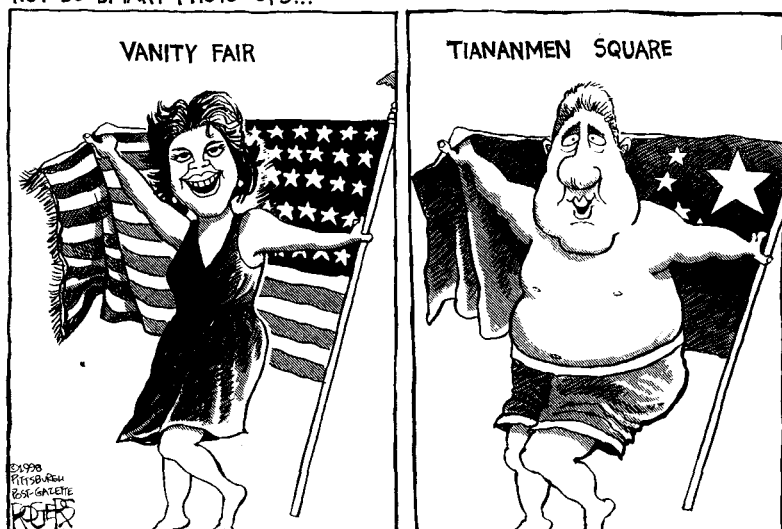
Meanwhile, “friends” of Mrs. Willey’s have claimed that she had a relationship with the President. It has come to this: the defense against harassment is adultery, and maybe harassment of another sort.

■ Newt Gingrich wasn’t running in New Mexico’s special House election. But you never would have known it. Democrats said that a vote for Heather Wilson, running to fill the seat held by the late Republican Steven Schiff, was a vote for Newt Gingrich and the radical Republicans in Congress. Miss Wilson won comfortably. Her victory moves the Democratic dream of winning back the House one seat further away; makes clear how hard it is to wrest even “open” seats—on which Democrats are banking so much this year—from the party that last held them; demonstrates yet again that the Democrats’ anti-Gingrich message doesn’t sell; and shows the limits of the Democratic strategy of running supposedly moderate millionaires, like Miss Wilson’s empty-suit opponent Phil Maloof. The New Mexico election gives congressional Republicans some running room. All the more reason for them to stop sitting on their hands.

■ The White House announced that, to comply with a 1995 Supreme Court decision (*Adarand v. Peña*), it would revise the guidelines for racial preferences in federal contracting. Minority-owned firms will get a preference if they are not getting as much business as they “should.” This is a quota, whatever the President says. It is also in conflict with *Adarand*, which held that racial preferences are subject to “the strictest judicial scrutiny” and “seldom” justified. The White House says that preferences would apply to industries accounting for 75 per cent of federal spending on small-business contracts. The Administration, in other words, is behaving lawlessly and in bad faith. Surprise.

■ Some business lobbyists, notably Charles Mack and Bernadette Budde of the Business–Industry PAC, are complaining that Republicans in Congress are not reliable

NOT-SO-SMART PHOTO-OPS...



allies and threatening to shift their support to Democrats. They have a point: the interests of big business and conservatives do not always converge, for instance on corporate welfare and affirmative action. And Republicans have been unwise in some of their initiatives, e.g., opposing free trade with China. But the real problem is that for years business lobbies have hired Democratic veterans of the Hill, and their advice goes over easily in boardrooms where hostility to social conservatives is reflexive. If they consider their interests, however, CEOs will notice that a Democratic Congress would put John Dingell and Charles Rangel where Tom Bliley and Bill Archer currently sit; the former have single-digit BIPAC ratings, while the latter average a score of 99 per cent. BIPAC would not be complaining that fast track failed if the Republicans held twenty more seats. Business groups should work toward that, or back pro-business Democratic primary challengers, or try to move public opinion their way. Some entrepreneurship, please.

■ We have been waiting for the media establishment to have its usual fit of the First Amendment vapors over the appointment of an official investigator into *The American Spectator's* role in Whitewater under strong pressure from Janet Reno and the Clinton Justice Department. So far, we have been waiting in vain. The reason for this reticence cannot be overwhelming evidence of the *Spectator's* guilt. What little evidence there is—the unsupported claim of an ex-girlfriend that her 13-year-old son witnessed a *Spectator* stringer in Arkansas passing money from the magazine to Whitewater witness David Hale—is fragmentary and unpersuasive, especially when compared to the mountainous evidence of presidential (and vice-presidential) wrongdoing in the Democratic campaign-finance scandal. If the target of this official enquiry were someone like Larry Flynt of *Hustler*, the *Times*, the *Post*, and the networks would by now be calling on the militias to defend the Constitution against an overweening Executive. But Bob Tyrrell is a gadfly too far, compromised by his association with conservatives, and by having had the bad taste to break the Troopergate story before his betters.

■ Pro-lifers have been demanding that the FDA not approve the abortifacient RU-486. But of course the drug is itself morally neutral; it is its homicidal use that should be the subject of state prohibition. Since a ban on abortion is out of reach, turning to the FDA is a stopgap; but there is no need for the FDA to be charged with regulating cloning, as has also been proposed. This is an important point to remember now that Janet Reno has announced that federal drug agents will not move against doctors who perform assisted suicides in Oregon, where such killing is legal under state law. Sen. Don Nickles (R., Okla.) and Rep. Henry Hyde (R., Ill.) quickly introduced legislation to reverse her call. Assisted suicide should indeed be punished—but under existing homicide statutes, not new drug laws.

■ The ever-declining defense budget and the lack of a coherent national strategy have sparked an inter-service food fight the like of which has not been seen in the Pentagon since “the revolt of the Admirals” fifty years ago. Alas, the services are tending to sell their programs with the kind of drippy sentimentalism that oozes from the White House. A recent Air Force briefing trumpeted the greater efficiency of casualty-free airpower over bloody landpower and ended with the plea to policy-makers to “think like a parent . . . think like a grandfather.” So, in the Clinton Administration, military strategy too is for the children.

■ The appointment of Richard Holbrooke to be U.S. Ambassador to the UN casts a strange light on the dispute over America's UN dues. Holbrooke, Madeleine Albright, and Bill Clinton are the three U.S. officials most interested in getting the U.S. to pay its dues to the UN. Yet they are among the worst friends the UN ever had. Holbrooke sold his Bosnia plan on Capitol Hill by emphasizing that the NATO mission would not be another UN fiasco. Mrs. Albright ran up the UN's debt while ambassador to the organization, pushing it into more and more expensive and fruitless tasks in Bosnia and elsewhere. She then forced Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's ouster when the UN missions failed. Finally, President Clinton has promised to veto legislation paying UN arrears because it contains a watered-down version of the anti-abortion-funding policy of the Reagan-Bush years. So Jesse Helms, who is trying to pass the bill, is looking quite the sophisticated internationalist, while Clinton and his UN-bashing UN team appear downright provincial for caring more about symbolic victories on abortion than paying UN dues. Maybe Helms deserves one of those little blue lapel pins?

■ Robert Rubin's recent support for the yen was a classic example of politically inspired intervention in the foreign exchange market. It was undertaken for irrelevant short-term reasons (namely, to please the Chinese in advance of President Clinton's visit); it achieved little, since the yen



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Moody's service gives the sack
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Pooped-out paper at death's door.*

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resumed its decline within days; and it avoided addressing the underlying problem, which is that the markets believe the yen is overvalued. For a currency in this kind of trouble, there are two possible solutions: deflation or devaluation. But Japan cannot deflate. Its economy is already on the floor, and more austerity would lower asset prices further, make good loans bad and bad loans worse, and push the Japanese banking system into bankruptcy. What is needed is the opposite, namely more resources in the banking system to support and strengthen more lending. The Bank of Japan should therefore loosen its monetary policy. That would mean accepting the devaluation of the yen. China fears this, but it could avoid any fallout by pegging the yuan to the yen. Both currencies could then be devalued simultaneously to a level that the markets recognize as realistic. Since Asia's other currencies are almost all floating, they would find their own levels, but against an improving economic background. For the Japanese economy, the locomotive of Asian expansion, would be moving again.

■ From Geraldo Rivera, who is in China and apparently suffering a Great Leap Forward: "The people here, and it is impossible for the central government to manipulate this, are ecstatic. Everything I have heard, everything I have seen, everything I have read. The people are sweeping up in front of their homes, they are painting, they are polishing. Everybody is extremely, extremely happy."

■ New numbers from the Centers for Disease Control show that teenage pregnancies and abortions both declined between 1992 and 1995. But don't declare this battle in the culture war won quite yet. As the Heritage Foundation's Robert Rector points out, minors account for only about 10 per cent of all illegitimate births. It is women aged 19 to 24 who account for the bulk of them. And the overall illegitimacy ratio is still stunningly high: 25 per cent of white children and 70 per cent of black children. These figures have merely leveled off after rising

alarmingly for three decades. So there is still much work to be done. Even feminists now agree it is a bad idea for a 16-year-old to have an illegitimate child. But what about for Murphy Brown?

■ By now the world knows that Sen. John McCain told a bad joke and, no, we won't repeat it either, except to say that it grossly mocked Hillary and Chelsea Clinton. His boorishness should be an occasion for distinguishing among bad jokes. Certain kinds of jokes, especially racial or religious, have become taboo, often to an unreasonable extent. Stereotypes grow from seeds of truth, and playing with them can discharge aggression and pomposity; witness Jackie Mason. By hitting masses of people, the un-PC joke paradoxically spares individuals. But Sen. McCain made crude sport of a woman who, even though she seeks the spotlight, holds no public office, and of her daughter, a young and private citizen. Nice work, Senator. Just kidding.

■ Mildred Rosario was teaching in a public school in the South Bronx when the principal spoke over the intercom to ask for a moment of silence for a student who had drowned. When one of her charges asked where the dead child was, Miss Rosario started telling them about Heaven and God, after saying that those who did not want to listen could read in the back of the room. For this she was fired, from a school system in which incompetents, lunatics, monoglots, and pedophiles cling to tenure for years. Parents and politicians, local and national, rallied to her cause. Five years ago, a protest in Elmhurst, Queens, against the "Rainbow Curriculum" provided one of the first social-conservative victories of the Clinton era. The wind bloweth where it listeth (John 3:8, but don't say so in a public school).

■ Meanwhile, in Massachusetts, so many teacher candidates flunked an eighth-grade reading test that the state decided to grade on a curve. Good call—at least they won't be able to read the Bible in class.

■ Almost single-handedly, Ward Connerly has been trying to reform American higher education. First, he led the fight (as a University of California Regent) against racial preferences in state university admissions. Next, he led the successful fight for Proposition 209, which outlawed racial preferences in all state-run enterprises. Now he is scrutinizing the multiplying "ethnic studies" programs and even departments: Black Studies, Women's Studies, Latino Studies, Aleut Studies, Caribbean Studies, Gay-Lesbian Studies, Native American Studies, etc. Connerly worries that they balkanize the university community. Even more perniciously, they politicize it. They operate outside the ordinary standards of academic rigor and constitute separatist pressure groups with political agendas and demands for patronage. Very often their student enrollment is minuscule, but they are politically self-perpetuating. Anything that they may legitimately study



What's Linda Carrying?

*Some say it's just cosmetics
That make her handbag bulge;
This theory's from the Clinton crowd,
Some, smiling rather broadly,
Say Linda packs a bomb.
The latter's from the Internet.
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—W. H. VON DREELE

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could be accommodated in history, sociology, or abnormal psychology.

■ As Brent H. Baker and Tim Graham of the Media Research Center documented here ["Network Failure," June 22], the television networks regularly ignore hard news stories in favor of prepackaged fluff on PowerBall, Viagra, and the like. Whether this results from bias or laziness or both is open to debate, but a new project of the Center, the Internet-based Conservative News Service, may one day make the question moot. CNS combines news from the mainstream media with its own original reporting, all updated hourly and untouched by liberalism or El Niño. Less than two weeks into its existence CNS is already averaging 65,000 visitors daily. Messrs. Brokaw, Jennings, and Rather may want to log on (www.conservativenews.com) and see what they're missing.

■ One of Jack Kevorkian's lawyers, Michael Odette, recently quit, on the advice of counsel. After the doctor of death showed up at a hospital offering one of his victim's kidneys for transplantation, Odette's seven-year-old son drew the line: "Dad, you shouldn't represent him. They should throw him in jail and melt the key." Odette says, "That kind of did it for me."

■ Merry old England got a little merrier as Parliament voted to reduce the age of consent for homosexual intercourse from 18 to 16, to match the age for heterosexuals. Some bishops blandly protested that the new law sends "the wrong messages," as if the previous one, allowing a 50-year-old man to bed down a lad of 18, sent "the right message." Eager pedophiles and sympathetic MPs are already pushing to reduce the age, for both gays and straights, to 14. Why not just drop the concept of age of consent altogether and let any sexual predator go after any little boy or girl he can get his hands on? Shh, don't give them any ideas.

■ Renegade asteroids are Hollywood's latest archvillain. Robert Duvall's *Deep Impact* and the forthcoming Bruce Willis film *Armageddon* sport nearly identical story lines: huge intergalactic rocks hurtle through space and threaten the earth before meeting their match in Duvall/Willis. But instead of arming over-the-hill action stars with nukes and launching them into space, perhaps it would have been better to heed the advice of another old Hollywood hero. SDI, anyone?

■ Carlos Castaneda died last month. Many will ask, Carlos who? But those who lived through the Sixties will know, for his book *The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowledge* was everywhere. Castaneda, a Peruvian who moved to the United States, was one of a long line of foreigners who went to Mexico to seek salvation in the primitive. At least D. H. Lawrence and Jack Kerouac confined themselves to sex. Castaneda claimed to have sat at

The View from Delhi

*The President's been scooping up
Debating points and wows;
Of course, along the border, troops
Still taunt the sacred cows,
The Dalai Lama's still a guest
And Muslims stamp and scream
But down in Foggy Bottom, they
Call India "extreme."*

—W. H. VON DREELE



the feet of a Yaqui Indian sage, Don Juan, who introduced him to hallucinogens and the plurality of reality. Probably Don Juan did not exist, but in a multiverse, who's checking? The ultimate comment on the nonsense was Donald Barthelme's *New Yorker* satire, "The Teachings of Don B: A Yankee Way of Knowledge."

■ Hollywood was extraordinarily generous with its wisdom in late June. Jane Fonda said that Christian Coalition leaders "don't care about children that don't look like them. They don't care about children that are not white, middle-class Christians. As far as they're concerned, others can be eliminated," which will come as news to the pro-life group. In *The Nation*, missile expert Paul Newman assured us that the Aegis System cannot hit anything except Iranian airliners, and these only by mistake. Meanwhile, Sylvester Stallone, a/k/a Rambo, tells us the only way to make America safe is to go door to door and confiscate every gun. We await his views on disposing of the rest of the Bill of Rights.

■ What he said: "Do you think the world wants Theodore Kaczynski's point of view on Theodore Kaczynski? I kind of doubt it."—Bob Bender of Simon & Schuster, on why he rejected Kaczynski's book proposal. What he meant: "When the Unabomber mails us the manuscript, who's going to open the package?"

■ Scientists at the New Jersey Insurance News Service have determined that one-half of the state's drivers have road rage. It is not known whether this condition is caused by a defective gene, or by New Jersey.

Hitting the Great Wall

IDEAS actually do have consequences. That is why the importance of President Clinton's Peking comments on democracy and human rights, which were broadcast all over China on state television, should not be

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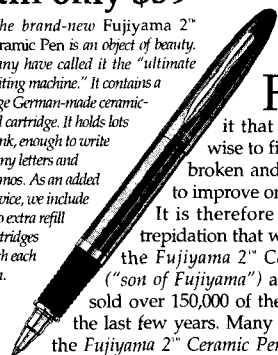
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minimized. (Ronald Reagan made similarly forthright statements on his 1984 China trip, but they were censored.) Mr. Clinton's remarks in a press conference and an address at Peking University—that human rights are not “Western” but universal, and that freedom is not a threat to economic advance but a guarantor of it—were a direct rebuttal to the regime's standard arguments for its dictatorial rule. Mr. Clinton's points also fuel a debate that has lately resumed among China's elite, in which some intellectuals have been bravely speaking out for political change.

Since that change has not yet occurred, it was foolish for the White House to hail Mr. Clinton's remarks as a great “breakthrough.” The Administration was foolish in other respects too. The ceremony at Tiananmen Square and the warm and fuzzy nine days of tourism were an embarrassment; the regime's roundup of dissidents and denial of visas to three Radio Free Asia correspondents were a disgrace. The President's refusal to visit Japan (apparently at Peking's insistence) was a strategic blunder, compounded by the extraordinary spectacle of American and Chinese leaders ganging up on our ally Japan over economic issues. The “de-targeting” agreement, whereby the two sides' missiles are supposedly no longer aimed at each other, is sophomoric nonsense. (It's unverifiable and easily reversible.) Mr. Clinton also displayed his apparently incorrigible impulse to apologize for America's sins and failures whenever discussing human rights.

The naïveté and complacency in Mr. Clinton's attitude toward China are the source of much of the domestic rebellion against his policy. China looms as a strategic problem, and America's relationship with it, as *NR* senior editor Peter Rodman has written, is uneasily suspended somewhere between friendship and rivalry. Congress cannot let the Administration off the hook on the serious issues that still bedevil our China policy: technology transfers, illegal campaign contributions, missile defense, America's slipping military primacy in the Asia/Pacific region. Welcome home, Mr. President.

Down to Cases

THE Left canceled the one show-stopper on the Supreme Court's docket, a case that could have served as a tombstone for racial preferences, by buying off the plaintiff. So the term was ho-hum, and it has ended with a characteristically mixed bag of decisions. The Court struck down the line-item veto as unconstitutional and held that the attorney-client privilege survives the client. Both were close calls: Justices Thomas and Scalia, the Court's reliable constitutionalists, split on the former. In another case, the Court held that the Federal Government, having established an arts program that has to make funding decisions, may suggest that decency be a criterion. The sole dissenter: Bush appointee Justice Souter, now clearly the Court's liberal outlier.

The Court also held that, under the Americans with Disabilities Act, HIV infection counts as a disability which businesses must accommodate. And it attempted to clarify sexual-harassment law, though employers still lack the guideposts needed to stay out of trouble. Which is to say that sexual-harassment law is hardly “law” at all.

Has this Court “captured a societal consensus,” as the *Washington Post* put it in a breathless front-page story? Actually, the Court continues to generate policy outcomes well to the left of the public. In the ADA case, for instance, a dentist who refused to perform surgery on an HIV-positive woman in his office, but was willing to do so in a hospital, was found guilty of discrimination.

Besides, “reflecting society's norms” is not the Court's job. Legislators are better equipped to do that. In each of these cases, Congress need not accept the Court's word as final. Congress can repeal, or at least rein in, the ADA and sexual-harassment law. It can codify its own policy judgment about the appropriate extent of the attorney-client privilege. It can reform its budget process, as Rep. Chris Cox (R., Calif.) urges, in ways that discourage pork.

Congress needs to challenge the Supreme Court's imperialism, and soon. But it must also get its own house in order. Bad laws make hard cases.

No Aid

MANY Republicans in Congress, fearful of being blamed by Bill Clinton for the Asian financial crisis, are ready to give the International Monetary Fund every penny of the \$18 billion in federal loan guarantees it has requested.

Why? The IMF is to global financial affairs what the United Nations is to global diplomacy: a bloated, self-serving, and often counterproductive international bureaucracy. The Heritage Foundation recently found that of 137 countries that received IMF rescue funding in the period 1965–95, only 44, or less than one-third, have graduated from dependence. Well, at least it keeps the IMF in business. Incredibly, 43 nations have been receiving IMF aid for more than twenty years and 81 have actually seen their dependence on the IMF grow over time. Many people have gotten rich off the IMF, but most of them live in Geneva, Brussels, and Washington, D.C.

Just last year, IMF economists gave the East Asian nations a clean bill of health. Now they are being called upon to perform \$18 billion worth of surgery on the tumor that they misdiagnosed.

Congress should respond bluntly: Not with our money. That is what Majority Leader Dick Armey is saying, but he is fighting a lonely battle against the foreign-aid empire in D.C. Fortune 500 companies are furiously lobbying this corporate safety net to bail out their bad loans and investments in Asia. Sen. Chuck Hagel (R., Neb.), an outspoken supporter of the IMF, recently claimed that without the IMF, “there wouldn't have been a Margaret

Thatcher in Britain." Now *that's* an original argument. Meanwhile, protectionist Democrats including Dick Gephardt have endorsed the bailout. Evidently, Gephardt's global economic philosophy for the U.S. in the twenty-first century is: "Aid, not trade."

The government economists at the IMF make development sound much too complicated. If nations aggressively cut tax rates, tear down protectionist trade barriers, peg their currencies to gold or the dollar, and privatize, they will prosper. The IMF's advice is all too often exactly the reverse. In the middle of last year's debate in Congress over the capital-gains tax, for instance, the IMF issued an unsolicited report advising American policymakers not to cut taxes.

We could help the Third World more if we shut down

the IMF and simply air-dropped thousands of copies of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*. It would also be a lot cheaper.

Whose Hundred?

THE American Film Institute has compiled a list of the hundred best American films, based on the results of ballots mailed out to 1,500 film-industry types, plus a few prominent outsiders, including the Clintons and the Gores. We are sorry not to see Al Gore's list (#1: *Soylent Green*), and we are miffed not to have been questioned ourselves, given our interest in the sub-

Counting the Gains

LAST year's capital-gains tax cut has caused a tidal wave of new capital-gains tax collections, just as supply-siders always predicted. New data from the Joint Tax Committee prove the point.

In 1996, the year before the capital-gains tax rate was cut from 28 to 20 per cent, net capital gains on assets sold were roughly \$250 billion. A year later, capital gains had leapt to \$383 billion. (The tax cut was retroactive to May of 1997.) In 1996, the Treasury collected roughly \$60 billion in capital-gains revenues. In 1997, those tax payments soared to \$75 billion.

A reduction of nearly 30 per cent in the capital-gains tax has created a 25 per cent surge in revenues. For opponents of supply-side economics, who doubt that tax rates affect behavior, this is hard to explain. Yet it's consistent with the last forty years of evidence on capital-gains taxes. Every rate increase has led to less revenue, and every rate cut has led to more. In public finance, this is about as immutable a law as Newton's.

The capital-gains tax is easily avoided. When the tax rate is high, many investors are able simply to delay selling their assets—stocks, properties, homes, etc.—to keep the tax collector from their door. When the tax rate is cut, they sell. Moreover, because a lower capital-gains tax substantially lowers the cost of capital, it encourages risk-taking and helps the economy to grow faster, thus raising all government receipts in the long term. So the torrent of new revenues into the gov-

ernment coffers is really no mystery at all. In fact, it was entirely predictable.

Then why did so few predict it? The answer is that the government's forecasting models are flawed. Without any rate cut, capital-gains tax receipts were expected to be \$358 billion from 1997 to 2002. Now the JTC predicts that the lower rate will yield \$416 billion over the same period. (Some of the increase is a product of the sizzling stock market. But the unlocking effect of a lower capital-gains rate is the biggest factor.)

Nor is the JTC predicting only a short-term revenue boost. Capital-gains tax collections are now expected to be \$50 billion higher over the next ten years than before the tax-rate reduction was enacted. In the past, supply-side's opponents have argued that clever taxpayers merely shift their reported earnings from ordinary income to capital gains when the latter are taxed at a lower rate. If this were what is happening now, income-tax receipts would be falling as the capital-gains revenues soar. That didn't happen in 1997 or in 1998.

The real mystery is why it took Congress ten years to figure all this out. In 1986, the increase in the capital-gains tax from 20 to 28 per cent had tax receipts tumbling. Most econometric studies advised that we were on the wrong side of the Laffer Curve. But for a decade the class-warfare lobby in Washington prevailed. Dick Gephardt and left-wing think tanks such as Citizens for Tax Justice ridiculed the idea of a capital-gains tax

cut as a break for fatcats on Wall Street. Never mind that 70 per cent of those with capital gains in a given year have incomes of below \$100,000, or that the number of Americans owning stocks has doubled in just the past five years, making the stock market one of America's most democratic institutions.

For those without ideological blinders, this latest evidence calls for an even deeper rate cut. The ultimate goal should be to abolish this double tax on those who create wealth in America, but at the very least it makes sense to find out how low this tax can go before the government starts losing money.

Speaker Newt Gingrich deserves credit for recently proposing a 15 per cent flat rate on capital gains. This might bring in more revenue still, providing another burst of adrenaline for the U.S. economy at a time when the Asian crisis is starting to slow industry production and profits. It would also simplify the horrific new Schedule D tax forms that last year ballooned from 19 to 54 lines, created 5 different effective capital-gains rates based on a myriad of holding periods, and sent sales of Excedrin tablets soaring last April.

A personal footnote: Last year, in *The New Republic*, Jonathan Chait attacked me and other supply-siders for still believing in the "discredited voodoo theory" that lower tax rates can lead to higher tax collections. I challenged Chait in print to a \$1,000 bet that the capital-gains tax cut would cause capital-gains revenues to rise. Chait declined.

Maybe anti-supply-siders aren't so dumb after all. —STEPHEN MOORE

ject (see "The 100 Best Conservative Movies," *NR*, Oct. 24, 1994, and "Your 100 Favorite Conservative Movies," March 11, 1996).

But even completely dispassionate film buffs will quarrel with the results. One caveat concerns the rules. The Institute wished to focus on American-made films. But there are also foreign films, from Ealing comedies to *La Dolce Vita*, which have amused or moved Americans and ought to have been eligible. *NR* is in favor of skilled immigrants.

The Institute's list shortchanges certain categories and talents. Many great Westerns made it (*The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*, *The Searchers*) but many more should have (*My Darling Clementine*, *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*). Comedies lost out, from old classics (*The Lady Eve*) to new (*Groundhog Day*). These are two great American genres; where was nativism when we needed it?

Incredibly, there was no Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers movie. Admittedly, their vehicles are wretched as wholes, but they contain moments of peerless style and motion. *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* deservedly made the list, but none of Tex Avery's cartoon shorts. Worst of all, there was nothing by Buster Keaton, arguably the greatest American actor and a modernist genius. He had a face like Leatherstocking, and a timing like destiny. We demand a recount.

What cowbirds filled the nest with their eggs instead? Modern shlockbusters: *E.T.*, *Jaws*, *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*. These kiddie movies began the dumbification of Hollywood that Jonah Goldberg analyzed in our last issue. Since Hollywood was doing most of the voting, naturally it praised itself. Thank goodness for VCRs, film clubs, and re-run houses.

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

In "Bloody Impasse on Guns?" ["On the Right," *NR*, May 18] you state that your least favorite argument is Slippery Slope. While I do not care for the term either, there is definitely a slope there and it is a slope of diminished footing. Handgun Control, Incorporated (HCI), and its associated lobbying groups admit in their internal documents that their eventual goal is the total disarmament of the American population.

The methods of HCI are the same as those used so successfully in Great Britain, Canada, and Australia. First discredit self-defense, then prohibit it. Restrict firearms to "sporting uses," then register them, then confiscate them. Great Britain has forgotten the lessons taught it by World War II, when it begged American firearm owners to donate their weapons to its defense, and it ignored the examples of Israel and Switzerland, where arms posses-

sion by law-abiding citizens keeps crime rates low. It is now illegal in England to possess a soft-point bullet. In England, Australia, Canada, and California, owners of legal firearms have found themselves suddenly classified as criminals simply for possession of newly banned weapons and have been ordered to surrender them.

Sincerely,
Carl E. Hickman
Cave Creek, Ariz.

Dear Mr. Hickman: Okay to worry about it but implausible to suppose that it's going to happen. Because something *could* happen, it's wrong to speak as though it *will* happen. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

You were wrong when you wrote that Senator George McGovern was apprised of the Cambodian genocide in 1975 and urged that the Marines be sent in to stop it ["On the Right," *NR*, May 4].

McGovern's appeal was actually made in August 1978. The time difference is significant since in 1975 the genocide was just starting and in 1978 it was winding down.

You also allege that "McGovern's reaction reflected his good heart." Analyst James L. Tyson thought differently. In a book, *Target America*, Tyson wrote that in 1978 a curious thing happened: "The Soviet propaganda machine suddenly discovered Khmer Rouge brutality." Almost at once, Tyson observed, "many U.S. media and opinion leaders allowed themselves to do the same."

The USSR was preparing the ground for its friends in Hanoi to invade Cambodia, which had become allied with its rival, China.

A "good heart" would have called for action much sooner than Senator McGovern did. Conservative groups here and leading newspapers abroad did.

Sincerely,
Henry Rosin
Wilmington, Del.

■ Dear Bill:

I have never written to you before, but Bob Morrow's letter in "Notes & Asides" [June 1] compels me to do so.

Morrow objects to Pat Buchanan's words, "Lock and load." And you agreed with him! That is exactly the sequence I used for years with the M-1 rifle. It is true that the old Springfield (on which I cut my eyeteeth) and any other bolt-action rifle that I know of always used the opposite sequence. But Buchanan probably had his only military experience with the M-1. And the correct sequence was "Lock and load." As an "old Army man" I know this sequence to be the true one.

James V. Christy, Lt.
U.S. Army Ret'd
Clearwater, Fla.

Dear Colonel Christy: We stand rebuked. Rebuked we stand. Rebuked we kneel. Cordially, —WFB



Two New Driving Irons Challenge Woods on Distance. One Sets a World Record; the Other Is One Yard Short.

Patented Surfaces Automatically Correct Hooks and Slices

**Trouble with Woods?
These Are for You**

YALESVILLE, CT—The same small Connecticut company that created a golf ball that *flies* too far has introduced two new driving irons that *hit* too far; way too far if you happen to sell woods. Mike Smith, a PGA Pro, recently set a World Record off the grass with the company's 17° driving iron, and stopped just one yard short of matching the record for a *driver* with its 12.5° counterpart. His shots were 335 and 358 yards respectively.

These are troublesome distances for wood manufacturers, but that may not be their biggest worry. *These clubs keep the ball on the fairway*, a characteristic drivers and fairway woods sorely lack. Official statistics show that even the top ten money-makers on the Tour miss the fairway with their driver 25% of the time. So



**PATENTED
"INVISIBLE" CURVE
AUTOMATICALLY
CORRECTS HOOKS
AND SLICES**

don't feel alone if you have trouble with your woods, relief is on the way. A company spokesman told me this.

"We made these clubs for golfers who are fed up spraying shots left and right with their driver and 3-wood. And millions do. If the best ten golfers in the business have trouble with woods, imagine how tough they are for the rest of us. So we designed the Controllers (the clubs' name).

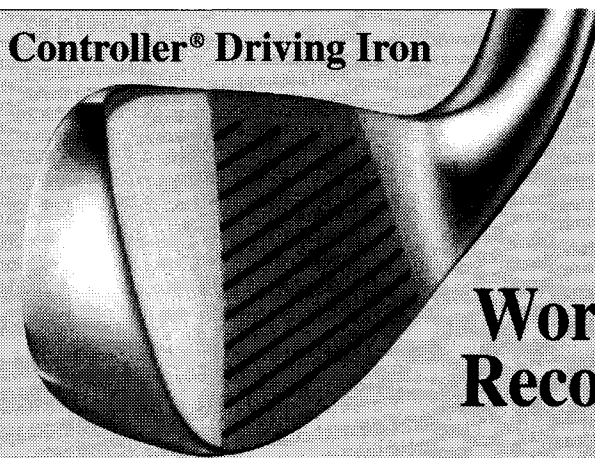
"Our initial test with the Controllers showed that a mid-80's golfer could get 30 to 50 more yards off the grass with our 17° Fairway Controller, and match or beat his driver with our 12.5° Tee Shot Controller. Mike's World Record and comments from other pros, including a former Master's champ, confirm that these are the clubs of the future.

"But power without accuracy doesn't cut strokes, and that's where we have wood manufacturers by the throat. Our Controllers have *patented accuracy*."

The Controllers' patented accuracy comes from a scientific head design that reduces hooks and slices. No other iron has it. Indeed, *can* have it.

It works like this. If you hit a ball off the toe of an ordinary iron, it will start off to the right, as the impact "opens" the clubface. But then a stronger force, called

Controller® Driving Iron



**World
Record**

the gear effect, takes over and spins the ball violently to the left. The reverse happens with a heel shot. It "closes" the club face and starts off to the *left*, then the gear effect slices it wildly to the right.

The Controller driving irons have a patented "invisible" curve (you can feel it, but barely see it) across their hitting surface that *tames* the stronger gear effect and draws off-center shots back to the middle of the fairway. It's a major golfing breakthrough and, along with their massive power, probably makes the Controllers the longest and straightest clubs in golf today.

One golfer told me, it was "...the first time I've played 18 holes and never left the fairway." Another said he cut six strokes, and vowed he would never play with his driver or 3-wood again.

So let me ask you. Do you have trouble with woods? If

Top Ten Money-Makers on the Tour Miss the Fairway with Their Driver 25% of the Time

you do, there's no risk testing one or both of these new, super irons. The company will refund their price, if their unique combination of World Record power and patented accuracy doesn't cut 5 to 10 strokes off your score, and you return them undamaged within 30 days.

To try one or both Controllers, call the company direct at **1-800-285-3900** anytime or day, or send your name, address and check (or cc number and exp. date) to NGC Golf (**Dept. DS-652**), 60 Church St., Yalesville, CT 06492. The steel shaft Controller Tee Shot (12.5°) and Fairway Controller (17°) cost \$69.00 each. Both cost \$119.00. The graphite shaft models cost \$89.00 each. Both are only \$159.00. Their new big butt shaft (called Turbo/Tip) costs \$109.00 each; both are \$189.00. Add \$12.95 s/h/ins. CT and NY add sales tax. No P.O. boxes. Specify right or left handed, regular or stiff flex, men's or ladies'.

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CAPITAL SCENE

Should He Stay . . .

CHRISTOPHER CALDWELL

WHAT, first of all, are we to impeach Bill Clinton *for*?

Granted, no President in living memory, not even Nixon, has run a longer gauntlet of scandal accusations: Whitewater, Travelgate, Filegate, Hillary's Cattle Futures, Asiagate I (the donors), and Asiagate II (the rockets), not to mention various cover-up scandals, from the Resolution Trust Corporation tipoff to the alleged Hubbell hush money. But these scandals, even taken together, haven't met the threshold for removing a President. It is the Monica Lewinsky allegations—1) that the President committed adultery with a White House intern, 2) that he lied about this adultery under oath, 3) that he sought to influence the testimony of others about it, and 4) that he has sought to obstruct the work of the independent counsel—that now form the core of the case for impeachment.

What flimsy grounds for depriving a democracy of the President it elected! The adultery and the lying, if proved, are basically the same offense. The very act of adultery is a lie. I'll wager the President never returned to the White House living quarters after any Lewinsky incident to say, "Honey, you'll never believe what happened today at work . . ."

But there is this distinction between adultery and the verbal lying that follows it: Strictly speaking, there's only one wronged party in adultery. (In this case, she doesn't favor impeachment.) Lying under oath, by contrast, erodes the justice system for all of us. Unfortunately for impeachment advocates, the justice that is being sicked on Bill Clinton is justice at its least legitimate. Its linchpin is the abusive independent-counsel law. Republicans accu-

rately diagnosed the problems with that law during the Iran-Contra charade, but it's a diagnosis they've conveniently forgotten since. Just as in Iran-Contra, none of today's threatened indictments involve conduct anterior to the investigation—all involve failure to cooperate with the investigation itself.

The independent counsel taints Congress's very impeachment power. Notice the late-June remarks of House Majority Leader Dick Armey: "Judge Starr is investigating this matter at the request of the Attorney General. We ought to all be patient, to sit



Bill Clinton by Roman Genn

and wait and see what he does and react to his report when it comes. It isn't the Members of Congress that are talking about that."

Shouldn't it be? Congress's impeachment role arises from its constitutional responsibility for oversight of the Executive Branch. Does Armey believe Congress has this responsibility or not? Here, he's saying that either a) Con-

gress is recusing itself from its oversight responsibility by lobbying it to Starr, or b) in a time of divided government, the independent counsel is little more than the harassment arm of the Legislative Branch.

That Clinton told his alleged lies in a sexual-harassment case undermines the investigation's legitimacy even further. Republican activists correctly considered this body of law a feminist fraud when it was wielded (with no evidence whatsoever) against Clarence Thomas in 1991. If there's one thing less consonant with Republican principles than impeachment based on a sexual-harassment suit, it's impeachment based on a sexual-harassment suit that has, like Paula Jones's, been dismissed.

*The very
act of adultery
is a lie.*

Of course, Democrats have grotesquely abused both the independent-counsel law and sexual-harassment law. It is asking a lot to expect Republicans to forgo such weapons themselves. Still, the responsible thing for a congressional majority to do with constitutional chicanery is not to bend it to one's own ends but to abolish it, and hope the public has the good judgment to reward a party that does so. If the public lacks that good judgment, we have a bigger problem on our hands than a goatish Chief Executive.

Turning our attention from the trees that are Mr. Clinton's peccadilloes to the forest that is the American system of government, we see the direct clash of two important principles. The first is that no person should be above the law.

The second is that the American people have the right to choose their own President. This is the heart and soul of our democracy, a principle that one monkeys with at the nation's peril. It therefore takes precedence over the first principle, except under one circumstance: when someone's placing himself above the law threatens the Constitution or the national security.

President Clinton's satyriasis is tawdry, his scramble to cover it up devious. But does either meet this criterion of constitutional or national peril? Not even close. □

Mr. Caldwell is a senior writer for The Weekly Standard.

... Or Should He Go?

MICHAEL LEDEEN

THE punishment of the Clintons and their friends is desperately necessary, because if we fail to root out corruption, our freedom is placed at risk. There is a symbiotic relationship between the good laws and institutions upon which a free society rests, and the virtuous behavior of the citizens. That relationship is threatened by corrupt leaders. No one better understood this than Niccolò Machiavelli, and his typically unsentimental analysis is as true today as it was when he wrote it, half a millennium ago.

Machiavelli believed that free nations and enterprises fail because of corrupt leaders and the subsequent corruption of the people themselves. Just "as good laws are necessary to maintain good customs, so good customs are necessary for good laws to be observed." Weaken the one, and the other slides down into corruption, with terrible consequences. Once the rot sets in, even the finest institutions are useless. "Neither laws nor constitutional systems are sufficient to rein in a general corruption," he warns us, adding that once corruption has taken hold of a free nation, it is headed toward tyranny. Nations wishing to remain free must therefore relentlessly fight corruption. When improper actions are found, the malefactors must be quickly and publicly punished, no matter how great their past contributions. As Machiavelli insists,

No well-ordered republic ever canceled its citizens' demerits with their merits . . . Having rewarded a citizen for performing well, if the selfsame man does evil he must be punished without any regard for his good works. And when these fundamental principles are well enforced, a [nation] lives free for a long time: otherwise it is quickly ruined.

He knew whereof he spoke; his weakened Florentine Republic was overthrown by foreign armies. Though Clinton's corruption may not immediately

threaten our Republic, it has gravely damaged our ability to win wars. While Clinton has directed his attention towards the fulfillment of personal desires, the military power of our most dangerous potential enemy, the People's Republic of China, has dramatically increased.

To ward off corruption, a free society must be constantly renewed and reinvigorated, by the application of good laws and the behavior of good leaders, thereby reasserting its basic virtues. Machiavelli thought this should be done at least every ten years, because a decade suffices for leaders and populace to stray from the principles that made the enterprise successful in the first place. To wait longer invites grave degeneration; "men begin to change their habits and to transgress the laws, and if their memory of punishment is not refreshed, and fear is not renewed in their spirit, soon so many delinquents will be found that they cannot be punished without danger."

The nature of the remedy will vary according to the virulence of the disease in the body politic, but the general principle is that a dramatic action is needed to reassert the state's first principles: taking a powerful figure and subjecting him to merciless punishment or destruction; or passing a new law that cracks down on those who violate or undermine the state's basic norms and principles; or elevating to a position of great power one who has shown exemplary devotion to the founding principles of the nation. Machiavelli writes with enthusiasm about the execution or savage punishment of corrupt persons, best of all if they are carried out in a spectacular manner so as to drive home the message to the people.

Our periodic purges of corrupt politicians are just the sort of thing he has in mind, whether Watergate, or the Jim Wright or Dan Rostenkowski affairs. Nothing so effectively reminds the people that America is a "state of laws, not men," as incarcerating a powerful man who believed he was above the law.

Machiavelli insisted that the people are better suited to maintaining a good state than is a single ruler. The public is far more concerned about corruption than the elites are, and more resistant to

its temptations. Consequently, freedom can be preserved if the corruption is contained within the elites and then rooted out by appropriate punishments. But if the people are corrupted, democracy is doomed. Alexis de Tocqueville knew that. He wrote:

. . . what is to be feared is not so much the immorality of the great as the fact that immorality may lead to greatness. . . . [The people] are . . . led, and often rightly, to impute [a leader's] success mainly to some of his vices; and an odious connection is thus formed between the ideas of turpitude and power, unworthiness and success, utility and dishonor.

If the people believe their leaders achieve power because they are corrupt, the entire enterprise is discredited. Corruption spreads like wildfire, virtuous laws and institutions are overwhelmed, and the common good is smothered. The delicate and vital relationship between good traditions and good laws is broken, and the very issue of virtue is driven from public discourse—just as it was in the American presidential elections of 1996, when Bob Dole and Jack Kemp announced with apparent satisfaction that they would not make the "character" of Bill Clinton an issue in the campaign.

And that is why the punishment of

*Corrupt men
and women indeed
came to power in the
United States.*

our corrupt leaders is such an urgent task. Corrupt men and women indeed came to power in the United States, and we must demonstrate that we will not tolerate the corruption of our free society. The only way to demonstrate this is to bring them down and subject them to public humiliation. To do otherwise would confirm that the rot has spread from our leaders to the people. If that has happened—and the seemingly indifferent attitude of the people toward the corrupt practices of this President suggests that, at the least, the process has begun—the very survival of American democracy is threatened. Impeachment is the most dramatic and effective way to punish and humiliate Bill Clinton, and put us back on the road to virtue. □

Mr. Ledeen holds the Freedom Chair at the American Enterprise Institute. His new book, Machiavelli's Power Guide for Moderns, will be published early next year by St. Martin's Press.

Numbers Crunch

JOHN J. MILLER

MOST people understand that a poll taken before an election is a statistical sample," said President Clinton last month in Houston. "And sometimes it's wrong, but more often than not it's right." With that, the poll-driven President reiterated his support for a poll-driven census.

If President Clinton has his way, the 2000 Census will be the first in our history in which the census-takers do not attempt to count directly every person living in this country. Instead, they will count 90 per cent of the population and attempt to "find" the remaining 10 per cent (about 27 million people) through sampling, a complicated technique that involves computer models, statistical projections—and a lot of guesswork.

This isn't just a complex technical problem. It's a political matter with potentially enormous consequences. Sampling could cost the Republicans their majority in Congress by turning more than twenty congressional seats now held by Republicans over to Democrats in the next decade. "It amounts to the largest gerrymander in American political history," warns a GOP memo. If Republicans hope to control Congress for the next generation, this is a fight they cannot lose.

But they certainly aren't winning. Last year, President Clinton vetoed a flood-relief bill when Congress attached to it a rider that would have prohibited the Census Bureau from sampling in 2000. Republicans thought Clinton wouldn't put sampling ahead of disaster victims. Their plan backfired, and they were left with their worst public-relations disaster since the 1995-96 shutdown of the Federal Government.

Republicans in Congress intend to take another shot at sampling this fall, when the Census Bureau will seek approval of its 1999 budget. Meanwhile, other opponents of sampling are working on the judicial front—two lawsuits challenging the Bureau's plan are currently under way—but few observers expect the courts to rule the technique illegal.

The census is always controversial because the stakes are so high. The

Constitution requires the Federal Government to count the total population every ten years for the purpose of distributing seats in the House of Representatives. Congressional apportionment is a zero-sum game, and every census has its clear winners and losers. In recent decades, states in the Midwest and Northeast have watched their influence in Washington shrink as faster-growing states in the South and West have acquired a larger share of the 435 seats in the House. Experts predict the 2000 Census will shift another nine seats from the Rust Belt to the Sun Belt. Furthermore, states and localities receive roughly \$170 billion per year from the Federal Government on the basis of their population.

No census has ever been 100 per cent accurate. People living in remote areas and the homeless are hard to count. Illegal aliens and others hiding from the law don't want to be counted at all. Despite these challenges, every census since the first one in 1790 improved upon the accuracy of its predecessor—until 1990. That year, the Census Bureau estimates that it neglected to count 8.4 million Americans and double-counted 4.4 million others, resulting in a net undercount of about 1.6 per cent of the population.

Identifying 98.4 per cent of a population of roughly 250 million people may not seem bad, especially considering that the public's rate of participation in the census hit an all-time low that year. In 1980, 75 per cent of households receiving mailed census forms returned them; in 1990, this rate dropped to 65 per cent. Also, in recent decades the Census Bureau has been contending with an increasingly mobile population, and a higher percentage of people living in unstable family structures. It's remarkable that the 1990 census performed as well as it did.

But not everybody agrees—especially because of the allegation that a disproportionate share of the undercount was among blacks and Hispanics. "The 1990 census failed both the public and Congress, and we cannot let that happen again," said Rep. Carolyn Maloney (D., N.Y.), ranking minority member

on the newly created House Census Subcommittee. The Census Bureau and many Democrats claim that the way to prevent a similar undercount next time is by using a complicated method of statistical sampling. The plan basically calls for counting 90 per cent of the population in each of the nation's 65,000 census tracts by traditional methods. The final 10 per cent will be sampled. If a tract produces a response rate of 60 per cent, for example, census enumerators will contact three out of every four households in the remaining 40 per cent, in order to hit their 90 per cent threshold. The characteristics of the one out of four households deliberately ignored in the follow-up will be extrapolated using information from those that were actually reached.

Meanwhile, the Census Bureau will conduct an overlapping sample of 750,000 households and the results will be compared to the main census. When enumerators locate people who were missed by direct-counting methods—urban black women, for instance—federal statisticians will assume an undercount in the overall census and attempt a correction. The bureau will weigh more heavily the census forms received from urban black women in order to offset this group's alleged underrepresentation. For balance, other groups, such as white suburban homeowners, may find the weighing of their responses adjusted downward. Sampling essentially creates a population of fractional people, with some census forms being more equal than others.

THIS cure may be worse than the disease, judging from the aftermath of the 1990 census. In addition to its direct count that year, the Census Bureau sampled the population in a survey of 150,000 households. But Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher refused to use those findings to adjust the official count, despite the urgings of many Democrats and Bureau statisticians. Had he done so, one congressional district would have been shifted from Wisconsin to California, and another from Pennsylvania to Arizona. Mosbacher's decision was attacked in the courts but ultimately upheld by the Supreme Court in 1996. Statisticians later discovered a computer error caused by the complexity of the sampling method. Arizona did not deserve that extra seat in the House after all.

What makes the supporters of sampling think it will work better next time? "They've been researching this for ten years and won't make the same mistake again," says David McMillen, a top Democratic staffer working on the issue. Democrats also point to a supposedly nonpartisan 1995 National Academy of Sciences report, which endorses the concept of sampling (although not the Bureau's specific plan). But that NAS panel was chaired by Charles Schultze of the liberal Brookings Institution, who had been the chairman of President Carter's Council of Economic Advisors. This April, moreover, President Clinton appointed former Rep. Tony Coelho (D., Calif.), a notorious political fixer, to the newly created Census Monitoring Board.

From a partisan perspective, shifting political power from state to state matters less than shifting it within states—and this is where sampling can do the most for the Democrats. Census data are used by the states' redistricting committees, which redraw the boundaries of congressional districts every ten years. If sampling creates, say, 500,000 phantom residents of Los Angeles County, redistricters could create one new safe seat for a Democrat. Or, more ominously for Republicans, they could gerrymander pockets of Democratic voters into several districts currently held by the GOP. One-time Republican districts suddenly would lean Democratic.

There are significant doubts about whether the Census Bureau has the capacity to conduct a normal census.

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"The census has to tell us where people live, and sampling is incredibly unreliable at the state and local level," says Rep. Dan Miller (R., Fla.), who taught statistics for five years at Georgia State University and now heads the House Census Subcommittee. In a 1995 test census, for instance, sampling had a 28 per cent margin of error at the block level. In other words, if 100 people live on a city block, sampling could report that there were anywhere from 72 to 128. Over the entire nation, these mistakes would tend to average out; the

census might produce a reasonably accurate count of the total U.S. population. At the level of congressional districts, however, the mistakes could force redistricters to map new political boundaries with bad information.

An old joke illustrates the problem nicely. Three bow-hunters—a banker, an economist, and a statistician—go looking for deer. A big buck soon appears. The banker shoots at him, but his arrow falls ten feet short. The economist tries next, but his arrow flies ten feet too far. The onlooking statistician then excitedly shouts "We got him!" On average, of course, he's right.

ADDING to the problem, there are significant doubts about whether the Census Bureau has the capacity to conduct a normal census. Recent reports by the inspector general of the Commerce Department and by the General Accounting Office have warned about "the high risk of a failed census in 2000." According to these investigations, the Bureau has neglected to compile an accurate address list (the most important part of a census), prepare a serious program of outreach and promotion to encourage voluntary compliance, or make plans to hire the half-million or so temporary staffers the job will require. No wonder the Bureau wants to estimate.

Some advocates don't want to stop at 10 per cent. Mr. McMillen believes that counting 70 per cent of the population and sampling 30 per cent would save money and actually be more accurate. Another leading supporter of sampling, the University of Michigan's Richard Rockwell, recently told *Science* that "you could even do a really good census" by sampling 80 per cent of the population. At a recent Heritage Foundation debate, the Commerce Department's chief economist, Lee Price, refused to set a limit for sampling. The census may eventually look a lot like a political poll—just as President Clinton said.

And that's a problem. In 1996, the final CBS/*New York Times* poll predicted that Clinton would defeat Bob Dole by 18 percentage points. CNN/*USA Today* put the gap at 13 points. The NBC/*Wall Street Journal* and ABC/*Washington Post* polls both put it at 12 points. In the event, Clinton won by 8 points. These polls weren't reliable. And, as Mr. Clinton surely recalls, every one of them erred in his favor. □

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Up in Smoke

THE sudden death of the \$516-billion tobacco legislation is a tribute to the public's good sense and antipathy to excessive government power. In April, well before the politicians saw through the smoke, the public decided that the bill's sponsors were "mainly interested in getting additional tax revenue for the government." Only 20 per cent believed President Clinton's line about wanting to cut teen smoking by raising cigarette prices. Now, the President's inability to deliver on his agenda is again exposed, and it's the Democrats for a change who are trying to figure out what happened to their lofty plans.

Their first mistake was failing to heed a warning about the danger of handing the Republicans the opportunity to cast a vote against a tax increase. As head of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska has the tough task of trying to elect more Democrats to the Senate. According to Senate sources, he cautioned his colleagues that it was not good politics to vote for big tax increases in an election year. He was ignored by a Democratic caucus chafing under the balanced-budget regime and desperate for new billions for new programs.

Democrats also failed to recognize the similarities between the current war on tobacco and the health-care battle of four years ago. Just as they overreached then—when they went for the whole enchilada and lost, whereas a scaled-back version of Hillary Clinton's reform package had a good chance of passing—this time they abandoned the plenty-big negotiated tobacco settlement. While Republicans have had difficulty learning to act like a majority party, the Democrats have found it hard to stop acting like one. With their self-confidence and political will reinforced by all the best editorial boards and the usual constellation of Democratic interest groups, they were convinced of their

ability to shove through the behemoth bill.

Confused Senate Democrats are now attempting to regroup. John Kerry wants to try again to pass a bill like the McCain bill that just failed. John Breaux hopes to reach a compromise with Republicans on Orrin Hatch's new bill. Ted Kennedy, on the other hand, believes that Majority Leader Trent Lott has the votes to defeat any version of the McCain bill, and that Republicans won't support the limits on tobacco companies' liability which the Hatch bill would provide. He's right.

Since Democrats can't get the bill they want from the Republican majority, Kennedy favors continuing to raise Cain over the defeat of McCain. The Republicans think they've won, he counsels his Democratic colleagues, but in so doing they have given the Democrats a potent political issue. About that, he's wrong.

The Republicans have gained safe political ground because they have figured out how they can be anti-tobacco-industry, anti-teen-smoking, and anti-tax all at the same time. House Majority Whip Tom DeLay led the way. In April, when other Republican lawmakers were resigned to the "unstoppable" McCain bill, DeLay laid out what would become the winning GOP line of attack in the *Wall Street Journal*: "I opposed the so-called tobacco settlement because I believed that giving tobacco companies immunity from liability was wrong. I also opposed giving trial attorneys exorbitant fees, as proposed in the settlement. But that doesn't mean we should use this as an excuse to increase taxes on hardworking Americans."

Meanwhile, conservative senators convinced Lott, who thought Republicans had to pass a bill, to slow down and give the tobacco industry's ads a chance to work. They appear to have done so. By Memorial Day, one Western senator had received 11,000 phone calls concerning the bill. Only 41 were

in favor. Sen. Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, Bob Kerrey's GOP counterpart, had been in Lott's camp but concluded that the bill could safely be killed. Within a week, it was.

A recent poll found that 52 per cent of Democrats would be less likely to vote to re-elect their congressman if he voted "to increase taxes on working people who smoke." This November, two already vulnerable Senate Democrats, Carol Moseley-Braun of Illinois and Fritz Hollings of South Carolina, will be among the tax hikers that Bob Kerrey is trying to re-elect. Democrats should now be as worried about being seen as pro-tax as Republicans once were about appearing to be pro-tobacco.

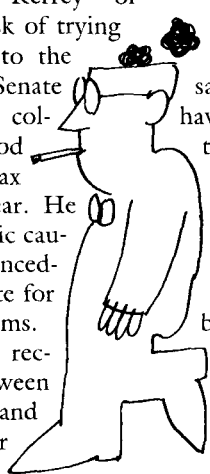
To give themselves additional cover on that front, in late June House Republicans unveiled a proposal with the battle cry, "Teens, Not Taxes." They point out that while the President has been carrying on about teen tobacco use, marijuana use among 12th-graders has skyrocketed. Republicans will drive home this fact by emphasizing the anti-drug provisions in their bill.

THEY also believe that they've bested President Clinton by refusing to provide tobacco companies the kind of liability protection that he supported. A more worrisome part of their attempt to demonstrate their antipathy toward their past political benefactors is the fact that their proposal includes unspecified expansions of the Food and Drug Administration's authority to regulate tobacco and the Federal Trade Commission's ability to regulate cigarette ads.

Republicans plan to encourage the states to crack down on teen smokers, perhaps by revoking their driver's licenses or sentencing them to community service. Just imagine: the President's precious AmeriCorps populated with smoking teenagers.

How best to cap runaway attorneys' fees remains an open question. Some Republicans support a windfall-profits tax, given the "predatory" practices of the plaintiffs' bar. Others hope to prompt states to limit attorneys' fees to reasonable, documented compensation, in exchange for a waiver of the Federal Government's claim on Medicaid reimbursements.

These are important questions. But the latest expansion of the tax-and-spend regime has been definitively consigned to the ashheap.—KATE O'BEIRNE



Blair's Way

Rule Britannia? Not if Tony Blair gets his way.

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

RIDING high in the opinion polls after one year in power, Prime Minister Tony Blair recently held a seminar in Downing Street at which a gaggle of policy intellectuals set out to explore what the New Labour government's philosophy—the much-advertised Third Way—actually means. Lord Hattersley, a former deputy leader of the Labour Party, responded drily that “in the bad old days, Labour leaders acquired convictions some years before they aspired to become prime minister.” Still, Mr. Blair's search for the elusive Third Way is perfectly understandable.

It proceeds from the very nature of even moderate left-wing politics. Governments of the Right may see their role in such minimalist terms as “keeping the show on the road” or reforming flagrant abuses; but governments of the Left want to reshape society in line with some social or moral ideal. So they need such an ideal in the first place. Socialism is now intellectually discredited. The Third Way is an attempt to fill the vacuum with a new Big Idea.

It is, secondly, the sincerest flattery of Lady Thatcher. Many British leftists interpret her period in government as a triumph of ideology. According to this view, she arrived in office armed with a doctrine called Thatcherism—monetarism, tax cuts, privatization—which she then imposed on the unwary British out of sheer ideological zeal. This is a typical left-wing misunderstanding, held by people entranced with theory for its own sake. The reality is that Britain in 1979 suffered from pressing economic problems: high inflation, stagnant growth, excessive labor-union power, inefficient state-owned industries, and much else. Given her libertarian-conservative disposition, Margaret Thatcher naturally leaned toward the free-market

solutions then in the political air. But these were practical solutions elicited by practical necessity, not philosophical abstractions derived from some theoretical blueprint (itself the product of a psychological need for ideological certainty). New Labour, having misunderstood Thatcherism as a successful ideological “project,” now wants one of its own.

Finally, the Third Way safeguards Mr. Blair. Many voters regard the prime minister as the one man standing between them and a Labour government. The Third Way is a vaguely left-wing talisman that wards off the corresponding suspicion of Labour MPs and activists that he is a Tory himself.

But what is it? Consider one definition, from a seminar participant, Peter Kellner, in the *Evening Standard*:

Despite the fierce antipathy between state socialism and free-market capitalism, they share a remarkably similar view of politics. They agree that what matters most is who owns the means of production: get that right and all else should fall into place. They both believe that the central purpose of politics is to wage ideological war, and that the main function of government is to advance the interests of the victor . . . Blair's Third Way . . . is a different kind of politics. It is based not on ideology but on values. It accepts that different parts of a thriving society can, and should, have different forms of economic structure: family firms, shareholder-owned companies, cooperatives, voluntary associ-

Even by the standards of partisan polemics, this is crude stuff. It begins by setting up the usual false extremes, between which the writer's favored solution will seem to be the sensible center—the Third Way as Middle Way. This tactic is as old as sophistry. I first encountered it when, as a schoolboy, I read Robert Thouless's fine little book *Straight and Crooked Thinking*. It is a game anyone can play. Are you General Franco? Then construct a spectrum in which the extremes are absolute monarchy and constitutional liberalism, and you can pose as a moderate (and modern) authoritarian. A Communist? Relax—you are midway between an anarcho-syndicalist and a democratic socialist. A conservative can be the midpoint between socialism and liberalism

if we are discussing economics. But once we change the subject to civil rights, the liberal gets to claim the prized center chair. And so on.

Anyone should be able to win this game with ease if he is allowed merely to select the extremes.

So the weakness of Mr.

Kellner's position is revealed when he is able

to construct the false spectrum to suit his desired conclusion only by misrepresenting the

right end of it. His picture of “free-

market capitalism” (as practiced by Mrs. Thatcher)

is a shameless exercise in ideological body-snatching. No

conservative or classical liberal has ever believed that “what matters

most is who owns the means of production” or that “the central pur-

pose of politics is to wage ideological war.” On the contrary, classical

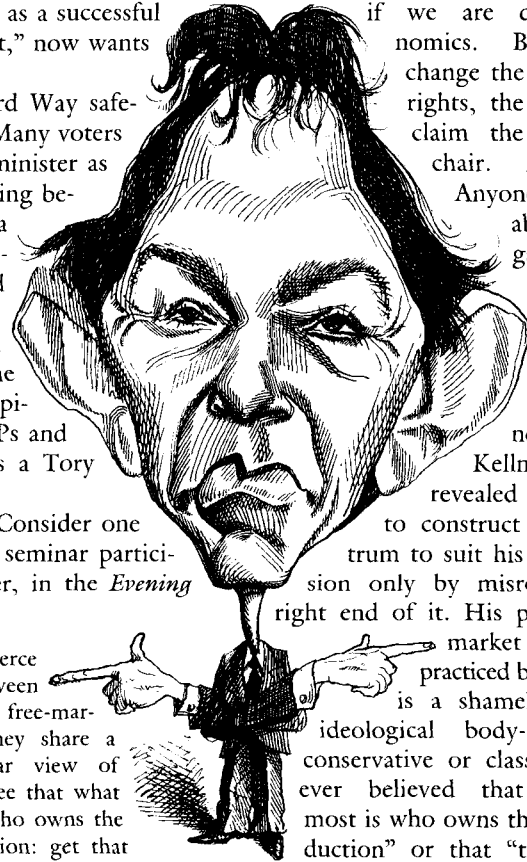
liberals have always stressed the importance of open competition in order to

prevent even capitalist enterprises from exploiting the consumer, and conserva-

tives from Burke to Oakeshott have argued that the purpose of politics is to

enable individuals, families, and private associations to pursue their own objec-

tives rather than have a government



Roman Genn

impose a single ideological vision upon them. Not Blairism but Thatcherism "accepts that different parts of a thriving society can, and should, have different forms of economic structure," etc. No less an authority than Shirley Robin Letwin, the author of *The Anatomy of Thatcherism*, explicitly argued that a free capitalist society is superior to socialism precisely because it permits a variety of institutions, including those hostile to economic liberty, whereas socialism must insist on total ideological conformity.

Considered as theory, then, Mr. Blair's Third Way is a hoax. It catches the Tories swimming, steals their clothes, and conceals the theft by leav-

It may seem inefficient to circulate money out of the middle class and back again. But think of it as fiscal adultery.

ing some rags of dubious philosophical origin on the bank. But considered as practice, the Third Way is a shrewd adaptation of social democracy to the post-socialist age, in which voters no longer believe in nationalization and planning, and global markets punish fiscal or monetary imprudence. It accepts the market economy as the main engine of society but seeks to harness it to the aims of the basic social-democratic "project." And because those aims—namely, seeking greater equality by transferring decisions from civil society to state agencies—are suspect to Middle England, it does so by indirect means.

Consider, for instance, labor-market economics. Mr. Blair claims that the flexibility of Britain's labor market created by Lady Thatcher's reforms explains the country's economic success relative to the rest of Europe. Yet almost his first act in government was to sign on to the European social charter, which will significantly reduce that flexibility over time and bring Britain into line with the European norm. Similar changes include Britain's first minimum-wage law and legislation to compel employers to recognize and negotiate with labor unions. All of these changes will gradually reduce the efficiency of British companies.

Or take welfare and taxation. It has been loudly hinted that, under New Labour's welfare reforms, "universal" state benefits, such as the basic pension and child benefit, would shortly be whittled away or restricted to the needy. But the practical details, now coming out, undercut this radicalism. Frank Field, the Minister for Welfare Reform, recently delivered a major speech in which he not only rejected any means-testing of the basic pension, but also pointed out ingeniously how child benefit could be universal and selective at the same time:

The choice may not be between a pure universal child benefit and one which is restricted to the poor. We might want child benefit for all, but child benefit which is worth more to those lower down the income scale. Dare I say it is a third way? This is the case for making child benefit more generous but then taxing it.

So reforming the welfare state along Third Way lines comes down to increasing welfare spending and taxes simultaneously. It may seem inefficient to circulate vast sums of money out of the middle class and back again to it. But think of it as fiscal adultery. It takes money from the father and gives it to the mother, simultaneously weakening the economic independence of the family and cementing the romance between women and government.

Yet taxing, spending, and redistributing by stealth—like regulating by stealth—have some of the drawbacks of taxing, spending, redistributing, and regulating undisguisedly. In particular, they slowly overburden the economy, weakening it in international competition, and they gradually overburden the taxpayer, weakening the government in political competition with opposition parties. It is here that the Third Way shows its subtlety and foresight.

The obvious answer to unwelcome competition is to form a cartel. The European Union, for instance, is a cartel of governments which, by harmonizing tax, welfare, and regulatory policies, makes it pointless for either taxpayers or businesses to try escaping from excessive burdens in, say, France by moving to, say, Belgium. Hence the indignation on the part of other EU governments at Britain's lighter tax and regulatory environment. Mr. Blair's acceptance of the social charter is in part a payment to assuage such feelings while he seeks to persuade his fellow heads of govern-

ment to reduce the collective European burden in order to compete with the United States and Asia.

But his persuasion may fail. At the recent "summit" between the European Union and the United States, therefore, he forged an agreement with President Clinton to transform trade-liberalization deals into international extensions of domestic labor and environmental regulation. Of course, in such conditions of global regulation, Britain's (or Europe's) higher regulatory burden would be less of a problem.

Domestic political competition is a more intractable threat. But Mr. Blair's constitutional reforms help to meet it. His creation of a Scottish assembly transfers power to a body in which Labour ought to have a natural majority, or at any rate one threatened not by the Tories but by left-wing Scottish Nationalists. His incorporation of the European Bill of Rights into British law (there is already an English Bill of Rights, on which the American one is based, dating back to 1688) will give more powers to judges who, as in the U.S., lean increasingly to the Left. His support for greater European integration means an increasing loss of sovereignty to a statist bureaucracy in Brussels. And all of these in combination reduce the importance of Parliament, the central democratic institution in British life, and thus of the government's accountability to the voters. How can you blame Mr. Blair for what the Scottish Assembly, the courts, or Brussels may have done? In confusion there is profit.

BUT it is the prospect of replacing the present first-past-the-post voting system, common to Britain and America, with proportional representation that promises Mr. Blair his greatest political dividends. The effect (and stated purpose) of PR would be to ensure that the Tory Party could never again form a government without the restraint of coalition partners. It would create a system in which no single party could win a majority.

The consequences would, of course, be far more momentous than merely dishing the Tories. No longer would the voters choose the government in an election; the party leaders would do so in weeks of negotiating after the election. Nor would defeated governments be replaced by the opposition; they would shed some parties, invite others

into the coalition, and stagger on. The policies of defeated governments would scarcely change either; they would shift very slightly leftward or rightward, but remain essentially the same.

Given the incentives of PR, Britain would by degrees adopt the continental system of politics *in toto*: permanent governments pursuing permanent policies with little real accountability to the voters. And it would enjoy the same results: a political class contemptuous of public opinion, a bloated public sector, an ossified economy, and public discontent erupting in street riots because it was denied effective political expression. But not immediately. The first effects of PR might well be a period of "stability" in which coalition governments headed by New Labour were regularly re-elected in order to keep the public sector, taxation, welfare benefits, and the costs of regulation expanding just a little faster than the rate of economic growth.

"Gad, Sir, turning the country into another Belgium—the British people will never stand for it." And even a few years ago, the British people would *not* have stood for a Belgian destiny. But

patriotism of that kind rests on certain foundations: a secure sense of national identity, pride in the nation's achievements, and affection for its rituals and institutions. Those foundations have been undermined over a long period—by left-wing intellectuals who, as Orwell put it, sneer at every English institution from horse-racing to suet pudding; by governments of both parties which preached economic defeatism outside Europe in order to make Euro-federalism more palatable; and by the poor performance of some of Britain's oldest institutions, like the monarchy.

And now Mr. Blair wants the "re-branding" of Britain. Rule Britannia is to be replaced by Cool Britannia. Out go the traditional images that evoke Britain—judges in full-bottomed wigs, the Tower of London, parliamentary ritual, the Royal Horseguards—and in come . . . well, what exactly? The Millennium Dome, with its androgynous statue? Britain's world-conquering pop singers? The new brutalist fashion designers? When such skeptical questions are raised, ministers reply hotly that fashion is now a major industry.

Yes, but is it a fitting national image? Noel Coward's lines spring to mind:

*Though Waterloo was won upon the
playing fields of Eton,
The next war will be photographed—
and lost—by Cecil Beaton.*

That, of course, may be the point. Cool Britannia is hardly worth voting for in a referendum on the Euro, let alone dying for. And the more Mr. Blair and the "modernizers"—with their instinctive aversion to ritual, pageantry, and any institution or practice that cannot give a rational account of itself—get their way, the less distinctive Britain will seem even to the British. It will become just another European country, a larger Belgium, and so perfectly suited to absorption by Europe's bland, consensus-driven social-democratic political culture.

That is the dream of the Third Way. As Mr. Blair rides high in the opinion polls, it would be a frighteningly plausible one if we did not have recourse to P. G. Wodehouse's mystical but reliable assurance that "meanwhile, in the background, Fate was quietly slipping lead into the boxing glove." □

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THE STATE

By Anthony de Jasay
With a New Preface

"Strikingly original.... De Jasay offers the most compelling account of what is wrong and dangerous about the state." —Alan Ryan

The State is an idiosyncratic and brilliant analysis of modern political arrangements that views the state as acting in its own interest contrary to the interests of individuals and even of an entire society. As Nobel laureate James Buchanan has observed, Jasay subjects the state to a "solid, foundational analysis, grounded in an understanding of economic theory, informed by political philosophy and a deep sense of history." The results include a "devastating critique of the absurdities of modern welfare economics." Jasay traces the logical and historical progression of the state from a modest-sized protector of life and property through its development into what he believes to be an "agile seducer of democratic majorities, to the welfare-dispensing drudge that it is today." Can, Jasay wonders, this seemingly inexorable expansion of the state be stopped? Or, "Is the rational next step [for the state] a totalitarian enhancement of its power?" Originally published in England in 1985, *The State* presents what another reviewer termed "a disturbingly logical 'agenda' for the state in pursuit of its 'self-fulfillment.'"

Anthony de Jasay is the author also of *Social Contract*, *Free Ride* (1989) and *Against Politics* (1997).

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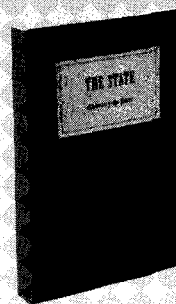
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Miller's Crossing

Conservative activists are attempting to wrest control of the Republican party establishment in Kansas.

RICHARD NADLER

OVERLAND PARK, KANSAS
KANSAS Republicans are fighting a civil war, with their party's top strategist and its top elected official leading opposing armies. Conservative David Miller announced on May 6 that he would step down as state party chairman in order to run against incumbent Gov. Bill Graves. The press, both national and local, is portraying the campaign as another intraparty ideological skirmish. It is partly that—the differences between Miller and Graves on guns, taxes, and abortion are real. But it is also a power struggle, as the activist wing of the state GOP fights back against the party establishment that has been trying to smash it.

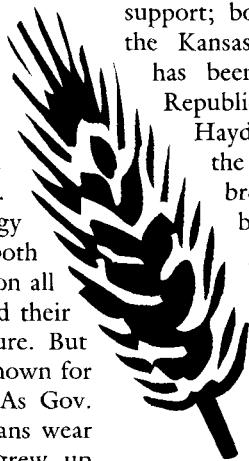
Republicans have dominated Kansas politics for more than a hundred years. They currently outnumber Democrats among registered voters by 45.3 to 29.5 per cent. With Miller plotting strategy since 1994, they have held both the state's U.S. Senate seats, won all four House seats, and expanded their majorities in the state legislature. But Kansas Republicanism is not known for being particularly ideological. As Gov. Graves puts it: "A lot of Kansans wear political labels because they grew up with them. They were handed down from their parents or their grandparents."

Generations of Republicans have served the state's agricultural and petroleum interests in Congress. Ranging from Nancy Kassebaum on the party's left wing to Bob Dole on its right, these Republicans espoused a moderate liberalism derived from the prairie progressives of the early 1900s.

Bill Graves, heir to a Salina, Kansas, trucking fortune, fits the mold. Out of college, Graves worked in the 1980 Bush campaign, then as an aide to the Kansas secretary of state. He later won

that post himself in a campaign devoid of ideology: here was another rich young man rising smoothly through Republican ranks. While serving as secretary of state, he married Linda Richey, whose father is CEO of Torchmark Corp., an insurance-based financial empire.

Republican moderates who retain power in the post-Reagan Republican Party do so by adhering to a simple rule: You can mess with conservatives on abortion, guns, or taxes, but not all three. Hence Ohio Gov. George Voinovich can raise taxes, and California Lt. Gov. Dan Lungren can advocate gun controls. Both received conservative support; both are solidly pro-life. But the Kansas Republican establishment has been slow learning this rule.



Republican "moderate" Mike Hayden, who was governor in the late Eighties, consistently broke it. In 1990, abandoned by conservatives, he lost his governorship to a pro-life, pro-gun Democrat, and Republicans lost control of the state House of Representatives.

David Miller, then a five-term state representative from Eudora, led a conservative rebellion against the establishment. He toured the state recruiting conservatives to fill Republican precinct positions. By 1994, these foot soldiers had captured the state party. Miller became political director of Kansans for Life PAC and was himself elected to the to the party's state committee. Directing thousands of precinct workers to phone trees and ward walks, Miller and his colleagues prepared to recast the post-Hayden party. "That year, conservatives ceded the governor's race to avoid burning resources," recalled Christian Coalition organizer Michael Welton. Instead, they campaigned tirelessly for their candidates for the U.S. House and Senate.

On election day the conservative tri-

umph was complete—with one exception. Bill Graves, an outsider in his own party, continued his smooth ascent. He told the *Wichita Eagle*, "I don't want to see those folks win who think we ought to slash and burn government"—like state House Speaker Tim Shallenburger and Tax Committee chairman Phill Kline. Graves soon locked horns with his party's leaders over taxes: in 1995 he fought to retain car levies; in 1996 he blocked a Republican bill to phase out state property taxes.

"Graves got off to a solid start," wrote Stephen Moore and Dean Stansel of the Cato Institute, "but he now seems to be a guardian of the status quo and an enemy of growth-oriented reform." They ranked him 14th among the 16 class-of-'94 Republicans in Cato's *Fiscal Policy Report Card on America's Governors* in 1996. Since then, he has only gotten worse. State general fund spending has grown 22 per cent during his governorship.

Graves showed unrelenting hostility toward conservative social positions, too. In 1996, he vetoed a bill to permit concealed weapons. That same year, he vetoed a "right to know" law requiring abortionists to give each patient information regarding her child's fetal development, the nature of the procedure, the risks involved, and the other options available. "These provisions of the bill represent a powerful intimidation factor against doctors who perform abortions, and an unnecessary government intrusion into the relationship between patient and doctor," Graves wrote in his veto message.

The mutual antipathy between Graves and conservatives is rooted in policy disputes, but it found its bitterest expression in power politics. In May of 1996, when Bob Dole left the U.S. Senate to pursue the Presidency, Gov. Graves appointed Lieut. Gov. Sheila Frahm, a pro-abortion moderate, to replace him. Breaking tradition, Graves also campaigned actively for her in the primary that summer. But conservative Rep. Sam Brownback, with support from taxpayer and pro-family groups, handily beat Sen. Frahm (and then buried the Democratic candidate in November).

Graves took the defeat of Sheila Frahm hard. He denounced the state party's platform, modeled on Reagan-era Republican national platforms, and threatened to boycott the Republican Convention in San Diego. When conservatives gained working control of the

Mr. Nadler is editor of K.C. Jones Monthly, a Midwestern journal of opinion.

state board of education, he proposed to dismantle it. In a speech at Wichita State University, he denounced the "shrill, loud, and uneducated" voices which nurtured mistrust of government.

In 1997, he started actively attempting to silence those voices. "The unidentified distribution of campaign-related material and advertising by parties other than the candidate should not be allowed to continue," he declared. His closest ally in the state House of Representatives, Kent Glasscock, convened a meeting with, among others, officials of Common Cause, the League of Women Voters, and United We Stand America. Their objective was to coordinate a legislative strategy for crushing "soft money" issue-advocacy groups such as Kansans for Life, the Christian Coalition, and Americans for Tax Reform.

David Miller led a conservative rebellion against the establishment.

During the next legislative session, the governor and his allies loosed a barrage of "reform" legislation aimed at prying contributor lists from conservative not-for-profit groups; one provision would have granted an administrative committee subpoena power for campaign-finance investigations. Commercials or voting guides which might "tend" to influence elections "directly or indirectly" were to be regulated, even if they included no endorsements. Labor unions and professional associations were to be exempted.

These proposed statutes managed to bring Christian groups and the ACLU together. "The effect of [these] bills," said Kansans for Life lobbyist Bruce Dimmitt, "would be to harass and intimidate participants in their grassroots-level participation in civic matters." Wendy McFarland, lobbyist for the ACLU's Kansas office, complained of campaign citations against "many that are hardly the sort of powerful, wealthy contributors that the public has in mind when it thinks of campaign reform," including anti-tax groups, anti-abortion groups, "and yes, even the ACLU."

Gov. Graves and his allies had crafted their campaign-finance bill as a tool for

purging their political enemies within the party. But their political enemies were the party, and they struck back. "It was the long knives," says one senior party official, "drawn by the governor and his henchmen against the grass-roots organizations of the political Right." On March 21, 1998, Miller wrote a public letter to Rep. Kline savaging the governor's fiscal policy. "Kansans," he said, "have placed their trust in Republicans to deliver less government, less spending, and less tax. And that is not happening." Miller's demand that Republican legislators defy their governor signaled his impending candidacy.

The dynamics of the upcoming primary are simple. Bill Graves, buoyed by the prevailing prosperity, gets favorable ratings of 70 per cent in the polls. He has a war chest of roughly a million dollars. And in the state Senate he continues to command a slender majority, made up of Republican liberals and Democrats. "I think there are a lot of Democrats who are pretty well satisfied with the job Gov. Graves has done so far," Senate Minority Leader Anthony Hensley told the *Lawrence Journal World*. On June 2, the executive committee of the Kansas AFL-CIO endorsed Graves for governor.

But Miller can mobilize the enthusiasm of conservative activists. On June 6, Ambassador Alan Keyes and Focus on the Family's James Dobson endorsed him before a cheering crowd of five thousand in Wichita's Kansas Coliseum, while Gov. Graves hosted a formal dinner for a hundred people down the road. Only 40 per cent of Kansas' registered Republicans describe themselves as conservatives, but they comprise 70 per cent of likely voters. If they turn out in sufficient numbers on August 4, Miller wins.

One obvious believer is his foe. Within days of Miller's announcement, Bill Graves had accepted a tax cut twice the size of the one he had threatened to veto a year earlier. And the governor appalled his pro-choice constituents by signing a statute that abolished not only partial-birth abortion but also most other abortions past the 22nd week of pregnancy. Already Graves's fundraisers are touting the legislation he signed under duress. But the activists are not listening. "The genuine achievements of the Graves administration belong to David Miller," said Wyandotte County Republican Chairman John Altevogt. "Why not elect him in fact?" □

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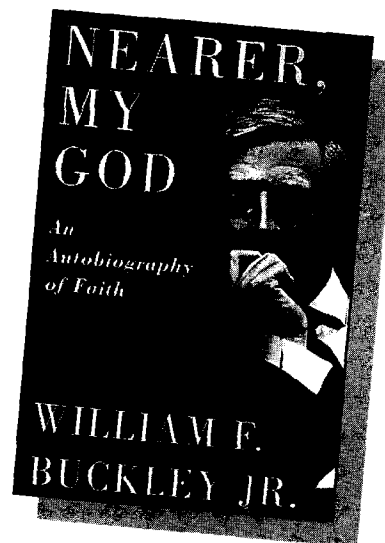
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Managed Carelessly

*Embracing HMO's is bad
for the GOP's political health.*

M. STANTON EVANS

WASHINGTON's endless health-care wars have produced one of the most unusual double switches in recent memory, as each of the major parties has adopted the past position of the other. Not so unusual, perhaps, is that the congressional leadership of the GOP has thus marched into a cul-de-sac beset with perils, and is now desperately looking for an exit.

Four years ago, it may be recalled, the big health-care debate concerned the Clinton plan, which promised tax-assisted medical coverage to the great American public on a "universal" basis. As Republican critics pointed out, such a scheme would be enormously expensive, further increasing the upward pressure of demand that had doubled the percentage of GDP going for health care since the 1960s. Aware of this potential outcome, the Clinton planners added features to control spending.

Among these were "managed care" and HMOs (health-maintenance organizations), not quite as famous then as they are today. In the Clinton set-up, financial aspects were so devised that most of us would have wound up in these programs, which seek to control health-care expense by policing doctors, barring access to specialists, and reversing the traditional incentives of so-called fee for service, in which providers get more money for doing more procedures. (In the basic format of managed care, providers can earn more money by doing less.)

Republicans, conservatives, and free-market health-care types were quick to denounce not only the Clinton plan in general, but its reliance on managed care in particular. An especially trenchant critique of the Clinton scheme was penned by Elizabeth McCaughey in articles for *The New Republic* and the *Wall Street Journal*. She correctly said that managed care is *rationed* care—and

that this is one of many objectionable things you get in such a government-dominated system. Thanks to this and like dissections of its failings, the Clinton plan went down to well-deserved defeat.

That was then and this is now. When the congressional GOP surprised the world and came to power in 1995, it suddenly faced the daunting task of inventing health plans of its own, most notably in regard to Medicare and Medicaid. The runaway spending of these large and growing programs had to be contained if Republicans were to have any chance of meeting budget targets. In what seemed like nothing flat, and with virtually no debate, the GOP in Congress (and the states) opted for managed care to get its savings—thus endorsing the very method it had protested under Clinton.

The most visible symbol of this strange *démarche* was none other than Elizabeth McCaughey herself, who in 1994 was elected lieutenant governor of New York. The following year she became the point-person for the Albany regime (perhaps, if later quarrels are any guide, against her wishes) in putting Medicaid patients in HMOs. She was, however, not alone in this regard; numerous other GOP state administrations have zealously plumped for managed care from that day to this.

With Republicans launched on this odd reversal, the Clinton White House and Democrats in Congress have conducted an about-face of their own, heading in the opposite direction. While by no means disowning managed care, they could hardly fail to note the furious public backlash against HMO methods of care denial—patients released from hospitals prematurely, "gag rules" on physicians, and so on. As expert victimologists, the Democrats readily grasped that here were numerous victims made to order, to be saved from deadly harm by federal action.

This tactic is the more compelling for liberal politicians given the way that HMOs and managed care are usually

(and misleadingly) treated in our discourse. HMOs, after all, are "businesses" that "make a profit," and when looked at in this light they make marvelous villains for leftward-ho crusaders. The package, indeed, is almost irresistible. *Businesses making profits by denying health care to suffering people—all courtesy of the Republican Party.* Clinton, Gore, Carville, et al. must be rubbing their eyes in amazement as this fat target looms before them.

A wild card in all of the above is Republican Congressman Charlie Norwood of Georgia, a dentist with no liking for HMOs, who has a formidable bill in the hopper (H.R. 1415) to smite them. Called the Patient Access to Responsible Care Act (PARCA), it boasts more than 230 co-sponsors in the House (a companion bill in the Senate, offered by Al D'Amato of New York, has a much smaller number). PARCA is a compendium of anti-HMO restrictions, culled from dozens of such enactments in the states. It would require access to emergency rooms and specialists, forbid "gag rules," and open HMOs up to malpractice judgments.

That the Republican Norwood has taken the lead in this respect, and that PARCA has been the foremost anti-HMO proposal in the House, obviously gives congressional GOPers an escape from the political danger in which their leadership has placed them. For months, however, the pro-managed-care line among the leaders has grimly held, resulting in much frustration and bitter squabbling behind the scenes. Finally, in the latter part of June, that line began to crumble: a House Republican task force came up with a compromise that seeks to unite the differing factions (and, not so coincidentally, give the party some protection against the mounting political hazards of the issue).

WHILE the details have yet to be supplied, the task-force package on first appraisal seems to give Norwood about three-quarters of what he wants—the big exception being his effort to change the exemption from state malpractice judgments enjoyed by many HMOs under federal law. (In this regard, the task force has pledged to streamline the legal process by which patients can appeal denials of care.) Getting such changes through the House, and thereafter through the Senate, is of course another matter.

Mr. Evans, a longtime contributor to NR, is the author of The Theme Is Freedom (Regnery).

Reinforcing the managed-care battalions, meanwhile, is a non-stop rhetorical campaign by business groups, free-market think tanks, and right-leaning editorialists. The gist of this is that PARCA's restrictions on HMOs are government interference with "the market." An unintended consequence of that view is to underscore complaints of liberals who invariably describe managed care as "market driven," and say this is what one can expect from markets—exploiting human misery for profit.

Space does not permit a full examina-

HMOs are creatures of a government- dominated system.

tion of this thesis. However, the central role of managed care in the Clinton plan of 1994, and the McCaughey critique thereof, should provide some clues. HMOs and managed care indeed are rationing devices, and rationing is something that comes about *in the absence of a market*. When people don't pay for what they get, price doesn't allocate demand; hence top-down decree must do so. And people-not-paying-for-what-they-get has been the soul and essence of American health-care policy for decades.

Medicare and Medicaid are the obvious examples of this genre, but there are many others: The federal tax treatment of health-care benefits; state-mandated coverage of everything from wigs to acupuncture; so-called "community rating" (a form of price control on insurance); coverage of "pre-existing conditions"; etc. The net effect of all these measures is that something like 90 per cent of hospital bills, and three-quarters of physician charges, are paid by someone other than the patient. Hence health care is seen as "free," or nearly so; hence the absence of a market; and hence care rationing by HMOs, with their sophisticated methods of denial.

Assessment of the House Republican task-force proposal must obviously be deferred until the fine print can be examined. However, no conservative or GOPer need feel constrained to defend HMOs as laissez-faire devices. They are creatures of a government-dominated system, and claim no proper sanction from the market. □

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Aid to Israel **Does the U.S. get its money's worth?**

Israel and Egypt are the two largest recipients of U.S. aid. For its "participation" in the Gulf War, Egypt was forgiven its indebtedness of \$9 billion. Israel pays its bills. It receives \$3 billion every year. Of that amount, \$1.8 billion is for military aid and \$1.2 billion for economic aid. It's fair to ask whether this is a good deal for the American taxpayer.

What are the facts?

The only democratic country in the Middle East. Israel is the only genuinely democratic state in the Middle East. It is committed to freedom and equality, and the rule of law. It embodies the fundamental values that are in tune with those of America and that America has traditionally supported.

Israel's military and political importance in the Middle East and its strategic position stabilize the entire area, including the oil fields of the Persian Gulf. During the Cold War, it was America's indispensable rampart against the inroads and expansionist ambitions of the Soviet Union. It is now a western bulwark against the aggressive intents of Iran, Iraq, and other bellicose nations that

threaten the interests of the United States. It is a most reliable partner in the promotion of Western strategic interests and in the stabilization of the Middle East. 25% to 30% of its budget goes for defense, compared to 7% in the U.S. and less than 1% in Japan. Israel has one of the best armies in the world. Its navy and air force are the major deterrent forces in the eastern Mediterranean.

Israel effectively secures NATO's southeastern flank, without having a single American soldier stationed in its territory. Still, the superb military installations, the air and sea lift capabilities, the equipment and food storage capacity, and the trained manpower to maintain and repair sophisticated U.S. equipment are instant-

ly at hand in Israel. It is the only country in the area that makes itself available to the United States, in any contingency. **Only fraction of aid stays in Israel.** There is no other country in the Middle East except Israel that can be considered to have a stable government or populace friendly to the United States. There is much danger that any military aid to Arab countries, and military equipment given or sold to them, will suffer the same fate as the untold billions of dollars and priceless military secrets that were lost to our enemies in the debacle of Iran. Is Saudi Arabia more stable? Egypt? Jordan? Kuwait? Judge for yourself!

Only a fraction of the aid given stays in Israel. By far the largest share remains with American defense contractors. Peter McPherson, former administrator of

"American aid to Israel is a two-way street. Aid to Israel is America's greatest defense bargain."

the Agency for International Development, estimated that every billion dollars of aid to Israel creates 60,000 to 70,000 jobs in the United States.

Compared to the \$1.8 billion yearly military aid to Israel, the U.S. contributes more than \$130 billion(!) every year to the defense of Europe and more than \$30 billion to the defense of Japan, Korea, and the Far East. Over 300,000 U.S. troops are stationed with NATO and over 30,000 U.S. troops in the Far East. In contrast, not one single U.S. soldier needs to be stationed and put at risk in Israel. U.S. military analysts estimate that the U.S. would have to spend the equivalent of \$150 billion a year in the Middle East to maintain a force equivalent to Israel's.

There are many other benefits that the U.S. military derives from Israel. Israel is the only country that has gained battlefield experience with U.S. weapons. This experience is immediately conveyed to the U.S. Enormous quantities of captured Soviet weapons and defense systems were turned over to the U.S. military for analysis. Israel, in the light of its experience, continually modifies U.S. weapons systems. For instance, Israeli scientists have made over 200 improvements in the F-15 alone and similar improvements, mostly in avionics, in later-generation planes. It would be more in line with reality if military aid to Israel were classified as part of the defense budget, rather than as "aid". Israel is truly America's unsinkable aircraft carrier in the Middle East. Former President Reagan put it well: "The fall of Iran has increased Israel's value as perhaps the only remaining strategic asset in the region on which the United States can fully rely." American aid to Israel is a two-way street. Aid to Israel is America's greatest defense bargain.

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Setting Sun

The revival of the Japanese economy depends on fundamental tax and penalty reforms.

ALAN REYNOLDS

IN March 1992, I wrote "Fear Japan's Feeble Economy" for the *Wall Street Journal*. That piece was ridiculed by industrial-policy enthusiasts such as Eamonn Fingleton of *The Atlantic*, who remained confident that Japan's economy would grow faster than ours. Since 1992, however, Japanese economic growth has averaged less than 1.3 per cent a year, and much of that has consisted of wasteful make-work projects.

Until recently, news reports were still saying that Japan was "on the brink" of recession. By now, however, it is pretty obvious that Japan's economy has declined during four of the past five quarters. As of April, industrial production was down 6.2 per cent from a year before. Retail sales have been running about 8.5 per cent lower than a year ago. Numbers like this are beginning to raise concerns even among Japan's most ardent admirers. But attention to the immediate crisis is not enough. There are quick-fix policies that could probably shorten the recession, but they would do nothing to counteract the longer-term suffocation of Japan's economic vitality.

At a recent lecture at the Keidanren (the highly influential Federation of Economic Organizations) in Tokyo, I had the opportunity to become better acquainted with the way Japan's economic bureaucrats think. To my surprise, they still take seriously the sort of primitive Keynesian macroeconomics that dominated college textbooks in the early Sixties. They even practice the ancient alchemy of calculating "multipliers," and they talk about "planning" and "pump-priming."

All this might be quaint and endearing, except that it has provided handy excuses for politicians and central

bankers who hope to avoid blame for past blunders and controversy about future plans. Policy options are artificially limited by archaic theories, in which the only things that seem to matter are budget deficits and interest rates. So, a whole series of prime ministers have wasted some \$700 billion on public-works schemes since 1992. Imagine what could have happened if even a modest fraction of that money had been used to cut punitive tax rates on capital and skill.

Public works don't work. Taking money from taxpayer Smith to pay builder Jones doesn't "stimulate" anything. In fact, the net gain is less than nothing, because 1) public works keep labor and capital in Japan's notoriously unproductive construction sector, and 2) the added taxes required to pay interest on the added debt distort behavior in ways that retard economic progress.

No amount of government borrowing and spending will get Japan out of this mess, because a boom-bust monetary policy and a destructive tax policy created it in the first place.

In the late Eighties, U.S. officials became eager to talk the dollar down in a misguided attempt to lower our trade deficit. Their success led to a rising yen, which had the effect of holding down Japan's inflation, and particularly its industrial costs. Imports priced in dollars (such as oil) were getting cheaper in terms of yen, boosting Japanese profit margins. The rising yen also lured American investors into Japanese stocks and real estate, because even a small rise in the value of Japanese assets was greatly magnified when converted back into dollars. Meanwhile, the Bank of Japan was bankrolling this bubble with enthusiasm, increasing the flow of bank reserves and currency by more than 11 per cent a year from 1987 to 1989.

A couple of years later, the Ministry of Finance and Bank of Japan underwent a conversion; they became missionaries for austerity, eager to deflate

the bubble they themselves had inflated. Tax and monetary policy was changed with the explicit aim of depressing the value of Japan's real estate and stocks. In 1989, Japan slapped a 26 per cent tax on stockholder capital gains or, alternatively, a 1 per cent tax on the value of stocks traded. In 1992, another new tax was levied on large landholders, with the aim of sinking the value of land. Since land was a major asset behind many stocks, that gave the stock market another downward shove. Meanwhile, the Bank of Japan shrank the monetary base by 2.8 per cent a year in 1991 and 1992, ensuring further deflation of asset values.

In 1998, the Bank of Japan finally began increasing bank reserves and currency, yet with little effect on the broad money supply, which is up only 43.8 per cent. This does not mean the central bank is impotent. Banks are fearful of bank runs, and so they want to hold more reserves than legally required. Households are fearful of banks, and so they are hoarding currency (home safes are selling well). What *The Economist* calls a "super-loose" policy is obviously not loose enough so long as prices of goods and assets are falling.

It is a dangerous myth that Japan's monetary policy is loose or impotent simply because interest rates are so low. To a businessman whose prices have been falling at a 5 per cent rate, Japan's 1.6 per cent prime rate feels like a rate of 6.6 per cent. Besides, monetary policy does not operate through interest

*No amount of
government borrowing
and spending
will get Japan out
of this mess.*

rates alone. It also operates on liquidity and on future price expectations, and therefore on asset prices. If the Bank of Japan bought as many securities as necessary in order to prevent prices from falling, then numerous "bad loans" would become good, and deflated assets would begin to look like bargains. To the extent that the resulting improved investment prospects arrested the flight of capital from Japan, a non-deflationary monetary policy could even

Alan Reynolds is Director of Economic Research at the Hudson Institute, and Senior Editor of the Institute's American Outlook, the next issue of which includes a detailed history of the Japanese tax system.

strengthen the yen (contrary to the predictions of most economists).

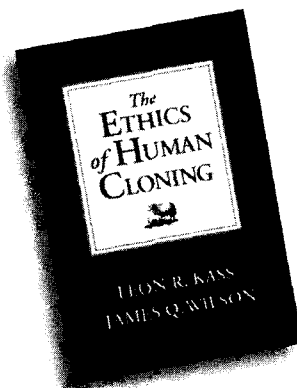
Unlike deficit spending, monetary policy can indeed "stimulate demand," speeding up growth of nominal GDP. But that alone will not solve the longer-term problem of chronic stagnation. Central banks can print money, but they cannot print entrepreneurship, enthusiastic workers, or investments in new technology and skills.

Longer-term growth is a matter not of "macro" tinkering, but of "micro" incentives. At a minimum, Japan must cut its corporate tax rate and highest individual tax rates by 10 to 20 points. This would merely bring rates down to the level of the U.S. or Britain. The 1992 tax on land ownership should be abolished and the capital-gains tax on land transactions greatly reduced, so as to minimize the paralyzing lock-in effect. The tax on securities transactions must be eliminated immediately, not phased out.

The government frets over the need for revenues to pay Social Security pensions to a rapidly aging population. But growth of revenues depends almost entirely on growth of the economy, and new taxes added from 1989 to 1992, including a VAT, are not helping Japan's economy to grow. Revenues from the individual and corporate taxes have plummeted since 1991. The collapse of retail sales after the April 1997 increase in the VAT surely reduced income-tax revenue more than could possibly be made up by the VAT itself.

Part of Japan's pension problem arises from the fact that the tax treatment of Social Security is too generous, while the tax treatment of private pensions is not generous enough. Not only are workers' payments into the Social Security system tax-deductible, but their eventual Social Security pensions are tax-exempt. Either would be fine, but not both. Meanwhile, contributions to private plans are taxed both on the way in and on the way out. If the tax treatment of private pension savings were only half as generous as the tax treatment of Social Security, then the next generation's precarious reliance on the tax-financed scheme would be diminished.

The pressure for such dramatic, structural reforms is building. Shoichiro Toyoda, chairman of the Keidanren, recently urged the government to "embark on a drastic review of income and corporate taxes." My bet is that it will, if only because the alternatives have already failed. ☐



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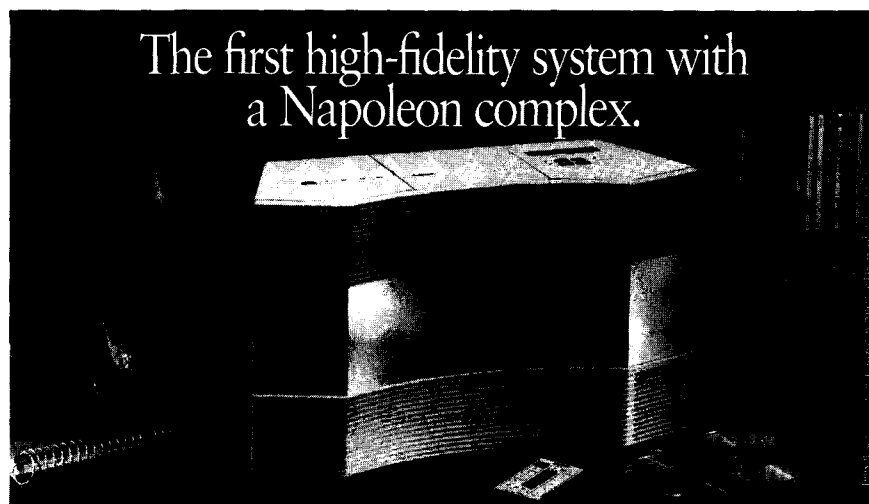
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Drugged Out

Could the global war on drugs be doing more harm than good? Don't try asking at the UN.

JACOB SULLUM

IN the lobby of the UN Building in Manhattan is a display of children's artwork illustrating the dangers of substance abuse (a dead addict), the satisfaction of waging a war on drugs (kids punching and kicking syringes, bottles, and cigarettes), and the happiness of a life untainted by psychoactive chemicals (three smiling faces in a row). The theme of the exhibition is "A Drug-Free World . . . We Can Do It."

That is also the theme of the UN's three-day drug summit, officially known as the 20th Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly Devoted to Countering the World Drug Problem Together. Held in early June, it is to be followed by an International Day against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking, which is part of the UN Decade against Drug Abuse. The decade, in turn, has its own slogan: "No, Absolutely No!" Apparently, "Just Say No" was too wishy-washy.

According to a press release from the UN Drug Control Program (UNDCP), the Special Session has "a bold objective: a drastic simultaneous reduction of both illicit supply and demand for drugs by the year 2008." Pino Arlacchi, executive director of the UNDCP, explains that "global coca leaf and opium poppy acreage totals an area less than half the size of Puerto Rico," so "there is no reason it cannot be eliminated."

Now, the fact that a tiny percentage of the earth's surface is needed to satisfy the demand for cocaine and heroin might give pause to the timid. After all, even if existing crops could be completely destroyed, enterprising drug traffickers could always find other places to grow their raw materials. Then, too, the track record of previous UN drug-control initiatives is not exactly encouraging. The 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs said illegal opium pop-

pies should be eliminated by 1979, marijuana and illicit coca by 1989. Instead, production of these drugs has expanded.

But Arlacchi, an Italian sociologist and politician who was appointed to head the UNDCP last September, is undaunted. On the opening day of the drug summit, he praises "the level of consensus" seen during preparations for the gathering, calling it "almost unique in UN history." In fact, things went so smoothly that the immediate goal of the Special Session—promises to work together on matters such as crop eradication, control of precursor chemicals, prosecution of drug traffickers, and investigation of money laundering—has already been accomplished. That leaves three days for representatives of 153 countries to condemn drug use and call for international cooperation.

EACH country is allotted 7 minutes. President Clinton takes 12, ignoring the red light on the podium. "This is ultimately a struggle for human freedom," he says of the effort to forcibly prevent people from ingesting politically incorrect chemicals. "We can turn this evil tide." Clinton decries "finger pointing," which "does not prevent a single child from trying, and perhaps dying from, heroin." The former pot smoker says we must teach our young people that "drugs are wrong and can kill you."

After Clinton speaks, almost all the U.S. reporters leave the press gallery, nicely expressing the American attitude toward the rest of the world. On the way out, ABC White House correspondent Sam Donaldson loudly praises the President's speech, saying it will go down in history with the Gettysburg Address as an example of fine oratory. I assure a drug-policy researcher from Canada that "the man with the eyebrows" is joking.

At a press conference after the speech, Administration officials talk about the need for a "balanced," "cooperative," "long-term," "comprehensive" approach.

Drug czar Barry McCaffrey emphasizes that "the notion of cooperation is going to be fundamental." Attorney General Janet Reno declares, "We must teach our young people that using drugs is a dangerous road to nowhere." Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala reminds us that "there is no silver bullet." Secretary of Education Richard Riley stresses that "it's clearly not only a supply but a demand effort, indeed."

Some rain falls on the parade of platitudes when a reporter asks about a two-page ad in the *New York Times* declaring that "the global war on drugs is now causing more harm than drug abuse itself." The ad features an open letter to UN Secretary General Kofi Annan

*That leaves three days
for representatives of
153 countries to
condemn drug use.*

signed by hundreds of prominent scholars, judges, politicians, activists, journalists, and former law-enforcement officials from around the world. The letter describes the disastrous consequences of prohibition—including violence, crime, corruption, the spread of disease, and the routine violation of individual rights—and notes: "Too often, those who call for open debate, rigorous analysis of current policies, and serious consideration of alternatives are accused of 'surrendering.'"

Right on cue, Secretary Shalala responds to the ad by saying "there's no chance that we're going to throw up our hands and walk away." She describes opposition to the war on drugs as "a kind of pseudo-intellectualism." *New York Times* columnist Abe Rosenthal worries aloud that "the pro-drug . . . movement is getting more and more powerful" and wonders what "we in the anti-drug community" can do about it. Mr. McCaffrey assures him that "it's the mouse that roared." Even on editorial boards and among Hollywood executives, he says, "we find a great deal of support for a non-drugged, non-stoned America."

McCaffrey is right. If the pro-drug pseudo-intellectuals hope to make any headway, they need to come up with a slogan. □

Mr. Sullum is a senior editor at Reason and the author of For Your Own Good: The Anti-Smoking Crusade and the Tyranny of Public Health (The Free Press).

Chocoholic

With or without government support, Karen Finley will bravely smear herself with chocolate.

CRISTOPHER RAPP

I WANT my money! . . . Get me my grant!" The speaker, or rather screamer, was performance artist Karen Finley, and these demands were part of her new show, which opened in Manhattan in mid June. A week later the Supreme Court gave her, in effect, a one-word reply: No.

In doing so the Court ended a cultural skirmish that had begun eight years ago, when public outrage over the National Endowment for the Arts' sponsorship of morally obnoxious material had convinced the agency to tighten its screening process. In keeping with this new (and, as it turned out, short-lived) attitude of responsibility, then-Chairman John Frohnmeyer rejected the applications of Miss Finley—a grant recipient since 1984 best known for smearing herself with chocolate and canned yams—and three other performance artists who had previously received funding. Later that year Congress passed a requirement that the NEA consider "general standards of decency and respect for the diverse beliefs and values of the American public" when awarding grants.

In response, Miss Finley and the other three artists, together known as the NEA Four, filed suit in federal court, arguing that the decency clause violated the First Amendment. Last month the Supreme Court disagreed, in an 8 to 1 decision. As Justice Scalia said in his concurring opinion, "*Avant-garde artistes . . . remain entirely free to épater la bourgeoisie*; they are merely deprived of the additional satisfaction of having the bourgeoisie taxed to pay for it."

If the bourgeoisie only knew. Miss Finley's new show, which in a jab at her critics she has titled *The Return of the Chocolate-Smeared Woman*, opened with a half-dozen twenty-somethings on stage dressed only in brown velvet bras and underpants, kicking and shimmying to the disco classic "Do the Hustle." All eyes, however, were on the back of the

room, where the star of the show gyrated to the music wearing only black bikini briefs and silver high-heels. Shrieking wildly, Miss Finley slathered what looked like chocolate frosting all over her bare breasts, abdomen, and legs. The dancers had chocolate on them too, little flowers and curlicues, which Miss Finley proceeded to lick. In the swirling lights it looked like a remake of *Laugh-In*, directed by Bob Guccione and brought to you by Hershey's.

When the music stopped, Miss Finley launched into a variety of personas, each with multiple claims to victimhood. In one sketch, she became an alcoholic mother who molests, whips, and otherwise torments her son, telling him (no doubt needlessly) that "I can cause deliberate, psychic, permanent pain." She then shoots herself, posthumously informing her son that it is all "because I love you." Later, Miss Finley covered herself in silver tinsel—frosting is surprisingly adhesive—and compared herself to a "veal calf."

Reading from a script, she described imagined sexual escapades involving herself and Kenneth Starr, Bill Clinton, Newt Gingrich, Orrin Hatch, Ted Kennedy, and her arch-nemesis Jesse Helms. She then filled a metal basin with water, took off her underwear, and bathed in full view of the audience, who had been warned in a maximum-decibel screech: "*This is experimental theater!*"

As in all Miss Finley's shows the broader message here seemed to be that the world is a horrible place, especially for women. Her trademark chocolate is meant to symbolize feces, and spreading it all over herself is her way of protesting society's oppression of women. As a young woman working at the theater explained, Miss Finley takes the female body "and totally demystifies it and defiles it, something that the feminists had been trying to do for years." For once, women's-studies gobbledygook is absolutely on target: Miss Finley does an exceptional job of defiling her body.

The Supreme Court's decision will no

doubt be condemned as "McCarthyism," but the NEA Four themselves don't seem to have suffered. Miss Finley's comrades all still perform, their careers imbued with the radical chic of having gone to battle with the government. John Fleck, who ended one government-sponsored performance by urinating on stage, has found steady work in mainstream TV and film, including roles in *Murder One* and *Mad about You*. Holly Hughes went on to receive NEA and Ford fellowships and now teaches at New York University, while Tim Miller is an instructor in the UCLA theater program. Mr. Miller's *pièce de résistance*, readers may recall, is lighting his pubic hair on fire. ("I'm not that hairy," he has said, "so I start running out of areas to set on fire"). Aesthetic quibbles aside, you have to give these people credit for persistence.

That goes double for Miss Finley, whose act doesn't really change from year to year; it just gets more or less sticky, depending on what substance she happens to be coating her body with. At one point she repeats the line, "I will say the same thing over and over and over again, and I'll never stop, even if you want me too." Undoubtedly she's

*How many times
can you do the same
thing and still
call it 'experimental'?*

speaking from the heart. She has been doing the same shtick for twenty years. And the critics have praised her as a revolutionary every retraced step of the way ("A fiercely vivid presence," wrote the *New York Times* last month; "joyous as an idyll . . . the essence of theater" chimed *The Village Voice*). The non-cognoscenti, however, may ask how many times you can do the same thing and still call it "experimental."

The truth is, despite the carefully cultivated me-against-the-world defiance, the dust-up with the NEA never came close to destroying Karen Finley's career. It has, rather, frozen her in time, like one of those perfectly preserved woolly mammoths unearthed in Siberia now and then. Karen Finley is a fossil, of which some are preserved in ice, some in resin, others in sandstone, and this one in chocolate. □

Violent Fantasies

A MacArthur Foundation study found that the mentally ill are no more violent than anyone else. Can it possibly be true?

SALLY SATEL & D. J. JAFFE

LAST May, Raymond Cook went on trial for first-degree murder in the death four years ago of Thomas J. Guinta, a police officer in Fall River, Massachusetts. The same day that Cook shot Guinta, he spared the life of a longtime neighbor because he mistook her for a movie star who had played opposite James Cagney.

The day before Easter, 26-year-old Keith Powell of Red Oak, North Carolina, showed up with a shotgun at his aunt Louise's birthday party and killed his grandfather and two uncles. Months earlier when he walked away from his group home, his mother knew that he had quit taking his medication, and she feared that the voices in his head would soon return. After the shootings, Powell committed suicide.

In the most spectacular recent case, Michael B. Laudor of Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, a brilliant Yale Law School graduate who seemed to have beaten back his mental illness (he was working on a screenplay based on his successful fight) allegedly stabbed his girlfriend to death. He too had stopped taking his medication, and his mother had become so alarmed that she asked police to check on him shortly before his girlfriend's body was found.

Cook, Powell, and Laudor all suffered from schizophrenia. Lacking adequate treatment, they became deranged and violent. Homicide, to be sure, is rare even among schizophrenics, and yet untreated psychosis is so intimately linked to aggression that mental hospitals routinely rely on locked wards and often use physical restraints to control patients until antipsychotic medications take effect.

The connection between certain types of severe mental illness and violence would seem to be a matter of common sense. But until the 1960s, when deinstitutionalization began in earnest, most of the severest cases were out of sight, helping people forget how volatile the psychotic can be. And in the 1970s a movement focused on reducing the stigma of mental illness, and hence downplaying the risk of violence, became better organized and more influential. Thus, the old common-sense view became increasingly controversial.

Now a new study from the MacArthur Foundation says the notion that people with serious mental illnesses may be

particularly prone to violence is little more than a stigmatizing myth. The study got wide play in the media—including front-page coverage in the *New York Times* and some sensational headlines—from the AP, "Mentally Ill Not Especially Violent" and from the *Washington Post*, "Are Former Mental Patients more Violent? If they Don't Abuse Drugs and Alcohol the Answer is Generally No, Study Finds." It could have a major impact on the running debate over involuntary-treatment laws by providing ammunition to civil libertarians and advocates for the mentally ill who believe that ill people should be left to wallow in their psychosis, haunting the streets of our cities.

The MacArthur findings were published in the May issue of the prestigious *Archives of General Psychiatry*, under the title "Violence by People Discharged from Acute Psychiatric Inpatient Facilities and by Others in the Same Neighborhoods." The study does admit that drugs and alcohol increase violence in people with mental illness more than they do in the general population, but it concludes that, otherwise, these people are no more violent than anyone else.

This contradicts the findings of numerous studies over the last thirty years. For example, a study of three hundred patients discharged from California's Napa State Hospital between 1972 and 1975 showed they had an arrest rate for violent crimes ten times higher than the general population. A 1994 British study of schizophrenics in Camberwell found that

they were four to five times more likely than their neighbors to be convicted on charges involving serious violence. How did the authors of the MacArthur Violence Risk Assessment Study, all prominent researchers, come to such a radically different conclusion?

First, they excluded many potentially violent people by the way they constructed their sample, such as persons who were currently in or recently released from a prison, jail, forensic hospital, or long-term psychiatric hospital. "We



Dr. Satel is a practicing psychiatrist in Washington, D.C., and a lecturer at the Yale University School of Medicine. Mr. Jaffe is co-founder of the NAMI Treatment Advocacy Center in Arlington, Va.

always teach medical students that past violence is the best predictor of future violence," says psychiatrist and schizophrenia researcher E. Fuller Torrey. "While purporting to study violence, the first thing the authors did was omit violent people from the study."

The researchers limited the study to patients in acute-care hospitals. Only one in ten patients stayed longer than thirty days with half of all patients successfully treated and released in under nine days. This largely eliminated anyone too sick to be stabilized acutely, again reducing the chance of including non-psychotic individuals. Among those asked to participate, 29 per cent refused; a disproportionate number were suffering from schizophrenia, the very disorder which, if untreated, is most likely to result in violence.

Second, by choosing a narrow, high-end definition of violence, the study left out many dangerous people. For example, the authors counted as violence only those acts which produced bodily harm. As the father of a woman with schizophrenia and a mean left hook summed it up, "If you're a good ducker, your relative is not considered violent." While most of us would consider setting fires and trashing rooms to be violent acts, the authors of the study did not.

Conversely, the authors chose to study the broad category of mental illness rather than the narrow category of psychosis. Since people suffering from depression rarely commit violence against others, including them in the pool studied skews the results. In fact, 40 per cent of the sample suffered from depression.

Third, the researchers selected a violence-prone control group, residents of poor, chaotic, drug-ridden sections of Pittsburgh (one of the three cities from which the study drew patients) that had higher crime rates than the city as a whole. Since many of the patients were discharged to this same neighborhood, the authors assumed that a higher level of patient violence, if discerned, would be due to their mental illness. But this likely minimized the violence differential between the patients and the control group. That's because many people with psychiatric illnesses—illnesses that can impede economic advancement—end up living in marginal areas with hot-headed neighbors.

Despite all these stratagems, the authors still found that over half of the patients studied engaged in some form of threatening behavior within one year after discharge from the hospital. Specifically, 18 per cent of the patients without a drug or alcohol problem committed at least one act of violence (e.g., throwing objects, kicking, hitting, using a weapon) and an additional 33 per cent engaged in at least one act of aggression (same as above except that no harm resulted). Violence was nearly double (31 per cent) among mentally ill people who also abused drugs and alcohol.

So, in reality, the MacArthur study proves only that non-violent people tend to be non-violent. But the fact remains that seriously mentally ill people are more prone to violence than the rest of the population. Indeed, one of the MacArthur study authors acknowledges as much.

In a 1992 issue of *The American Psychologist*, John Monahan of the University of Virginia wrote: "The data that have recently become available, fairly read, suggest the one conclusion I did not want to reach: whether the sample is people who are selected for treatment as inmates or patients in

institutions or people randomly chosen from the open community, and no matter how many social or demographic factors are statistically taken into account, there appears to be a relationship between mental disorder and violent behavior."

Advocates will seize upon the MacArthur study as "proof" that all the other research is wrong—and that involuntary-treatment laws are unnecessary. In fact, those laws need to be strengthened, not repealed. Many states still rely solely on the standard of whether a person is "imminently and provably" dangerous to himself or others. What about those who are not yet dangerous but, already prisoners of their delusions, are likely to deteriorate further if not treated soon? A number of states allow the authorities to hospitalize such people against their will, but judges are notoriously reluctant to do so.

Since people suffering from depression rarely commit violence against others, including them in the pool skews the results.

And many states do not allow judges to consider past violence when deciding whether someone should be committed. Even a court order for hospitalization does not guarantee medication, since in some states judges may not mandate that a hospitalized psychotic patient take an antipsychotic drug merely because he is dangerous: he must also be judged incompetent to refuse the medication. While over half the states permit judges to order a patient to continue to take his medication once he is discharged from the hospital (if he has a known habit of stopping the medication and becoming dangerous), such laws are actually applied only infrequently.

Obviously, treatment is of profound importance. It can keep people with serious mental disorders out of jails and shelters. It can prevent suicide and help the afflicted rejoin society. And certainty that the mentally ill will be treated might make communities less resistant to supervised housing and other desperately needed community-based programs. Yet, political correctness—an unwillingness to offend or "stigmatize"—prompts efforts to conceal the risk of violence from people suffering from unmedicated psychosis.

After years of denying the association between untreated mental illness and aggression, the National Alliance for the Mentally Ill, the largest and most influential grass-roots organization of family members of mentally ill people, has come full circle. Carla Jacobs, a NAMI board member from California, became an activist for involuntary commitment after her mother-in-law was fatally stabbed and shot by a mentally ill relative.

"We used to think it was stigmatizing to acknowledge violence," she says. "Now we recognize that violence by the minority tars the majority, and makes communities less likely to welcome the community-based housing that can facilitate treatment and reduce violence." Besides, she adds, "too many of our relatives are hurting others, and winding up in jail. The first step to helping them is admitting there's a problem."

Unfortunately, the MacArthur study will make it harder even to take that first, basic step. □

Bad Attitude

MARGARET A. HAGEN

WHEN Wilfredo Cordero, an outfielder for the Boston Red Sox, was arrested for assault and battery against his wife in the summer of 1997, he never suspected he would be the indirect beneficiary of feminist theory. Allegedly Cordero, intoxicated, had struck his wife with a telephone, tried to choke her, and threatened to kill her. He pleaded guilty, and in exchange for a 90-day suspended sentence his attorneys assured the judge that he would receive domestic-violence counseling.

The next day, Cordero and his wife flew home to Puerto Rico. Within a month the couple had separated and his wife took out a restraining order against him. Cordero—who has been arrested for or accused of abuse by three different women—was saying, “I am well into my counseling program, and I realize the value of my counseling. I look forward to it helping me return to a normal life. I also look forward to returning to my baseball job.” Soon enough, Cordero was back patrolling the outfield grass—this time for the Chicago White Sox at \$1 million a year.

Cordero’s case is typical. Of the 136,000 men arrested on charges of domestic violence last year, 86 per cent were ordered into counseling—either as the sole consequence of the arrest, or as a condition of probation or some other sentence. In those counseling programs, the treatment the men are most likely to get is “gender therapy,” focused on eradicating the male need for power, control, and dominance.

Lenore Walker, the psychiatrist who developed the concept of battered-woman syndrome, is the chief advocate for the idea that batterers, in turn, are trapped in their socially conditioned role as controlling men. “A feminist political gender analysis has reframed the problem of violence against women as one of misuse of power by men who have been socialized into believing they have the right to control the women in their lives even through violent means,” she wrote in a 1989 article. “The underbelly of interpersonal violence is seen as the socialized androcentric need for power.”

This feminist analysis is buttressed by a more general victimology: not only are batterers the victims of their socialization, they are the unhappy sons of dysfunctional families with absent or abusive parents. Although some states have recently swung too far the other way (with mandatory arrest and prosecution for batterers whether or not the wife wants to press charges), in many states acts of domestic violence have effectively been decriminalized. Since a batterer suffers from a mental disorder, he requires therapy, not punishment (“Mr. Cordero, tell us how you *feel*.”).

Dr. Hagen is a professor of psychology at Boston University.

The leader in gender therapy is the Emerge program in Massachusetts. Established in 1977, Emerge is the oldest of the programs in this country and one of the largest, typically with 350 men enrolled at a time; it is generally considered a model for treating batterers. Explains Chuck Turner, co-director of Emerge, “We believe that men come into the program focused on their own feelings, needs, and concerns and with a sense of being entitled to subservience on the part of their partners. So, what we try to do in our educational program is to strengthen their awareness of the many forms of abuse, moving beyond physical abuse to look at psychological abuse, economic abuse, and sexual abuse as well as helping them develop the ability to understand the effect of their behavior on the feelings of their partners.”

Treatment in programs like Emerge takes place in groups, where the presence of supportive fellow members

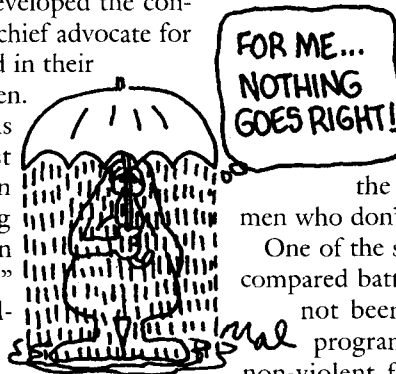
Of the 136,000 men arrested on charges of domestic violence last year, 86 per cent were ordered into counseling.

is meant to diminish batterers’ sense of isolation. Many groups begin each meeting with a recitation of each man’s past and most recent violent acts. Success is usually measured by changes in attitude. A man who completes the program (half simply drop out) is asked if he feels differently about sex roles, anger, and control. If the answer is “yes,” his treatment is considered successful.

But do these “attitude changes” do anything to reduce violence? As Zvi Eisikovits and Jeffrey Edleson point out in their 1989 review of the literature in the field, “Most of the studies have been conducted by the very people who have designed the intervention and thus should be regarded as self-evaluations at best.” Some show that men who complete the programs are marginally less likely to be re-arrested than men who don’t. But there is no evidence at all that men who complete the programs treat their women any better than men who don’t.

One of the soundest studies (it was not a self-evaluation) compared batterers who had been treated to ones who had not been treated and found that after a six-month program about one-quarter of each group remained non-violent for six months. About one-quarter of each group shoved, bit, or slapped their partners within that time period. About 15 per cent of those treated burned their partners, punched them unconscious, or threatened them with a weapon, as opposed to 22 per cent of the untreated. These are not encouraging numbers.

A recent eight-year study by Neil Jacobson and John Gottman of the University of Washington produced similar results; the authors concluded that the counseling programs are a waste of time. In fact, not only is there no reliable evidence that batterers’ programs affect subsequent battering; there is no evidence that the counselors can even tell the difference between failure and success.



There is a method of risk assessment that appears to do better at distinguishing between inveterate batterers and men who committed acts of violence which they are unlikely to repeat. A research team in Ontario has identified a set of objective actuarial variables—including age of earliest violent offense and separation of parents before the age of sixteen—that have a demonstrable correlation with future violence. A program based on their methods—called the Violence Risk Appraisal Guide—is used throughout the forensic system in Ontario to help determine who can benefit from counseling and who had better be put in jail. The same idea is also being used as part of the Special Commitment Center program in Washington state for sex offenders deemed unrehabilitated after serving prison time.

"We've not been very successful at the control part of wife assault," says Dr. Marnie Rice, head of the research team. "But we could probably do a lot better job of prediction." Which certainly makes more sense than programs based on the misguided feminist theory of re-education.

In 1993, Police Officer Curtis Wilson of Brockton, Massachusetts, handcuffed his wife, put a loaded gun to her head, threatened to kill her, and knocked her unconscious. Wilson was suspended and forced to surrender his service weapon. Upon his completion of a batterers' program, two counselors pronounced him no longer dangerous. The police returned his service revolver. In September 1995, Wilson shot and killed his wife and himself. His "social attitudes" evidently needed some more adjusting. □

Abuse of Power

BARBARA LERNER

ON July 16, 1997, Hou-Lin Li and his wife, Luyang Deng—immigrants from China now living in Chicago—slapped their 8-year-old daughter, Sylvia, once on the cheek and several times on the arms, hard enough to leave red marks that remained visible for several hours. Immediately afterward, Mr. Li marched Sylvia off to the park to hunt for a ring she had lost. There, two policemen saw the red marks and arrested Mr. Li. Other policemen went to the Lis' small, toy-crowded apartment and arrested Mrs. Li.

Thus began a long nightmare, the likes of which the Lis could never have imagined when they came to the U.S. in 1993. In China, Mr. Li had been a lecturer in law, Mrs. Li an English teacher. They came here wishing to raise their daughter in freedom. Instead, they ran afoul of one of the nation's current manias and now have a rap sheet to show for it.

Both parents spent that July night in jail. The next day they got out on a \$6,000 bond and immediately began a frantic hunt for their child. They eventually learned that the police had taken her to an emergency room, where she was examined by doctors and the red marks were duly recorded. Finding her otherwise well, the juvenile-court authori-



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ties transferred her to a shelter for abused children, where she was interviewed by one of the Cook County Public Guardian's supervising staff attorneys. By then, the red marks were gone. Sylvia said her parents had spanked her a few times before, but never so hard, and that she was not afraid of them and wanted to go home. It took her parents two days to track her down; the authorities then spent ten more days investigating the case before they allowed them to take her home, under supervision.

Mr. and Mrs. Li cooperated fully with the investigation. By all accounts, Sylvia was a happy, well-cared for child, earning high marks in the gifted class at school and enjoying day camp. Spanking is not illegal in Illinois, although the Public Guardian disapproves, but the use of "unreasonable force" is illegal, and the Guardian felt that what Mr. and Mrs. Li had done was unreasonable.

Accordingly, they were subjected to five months of counseling and supervision, including "parenting" and "anger management" classes. They again cooperated, and juvenile-court authorities were eventually satisfied that they had learned the error of their ways and would never strike their daughter again. Just in case, they gave Sylvia a card to keep in her pocket, so that she could call for help if she ever felt she needed to. The juvenile-court authorities were satisfied; the criminal-court authorities were not.

Insisting that a crime of this severity could not go unpunished, Cook County State's Attorney Dick Devine charged both parents with domestic battery. The Public Guardian wrote to him, asking him to drop the charges. No response. The Lis were terrified: conviction could mean deportation. They found an experienced criminal lawyer, Sherman Magidson, who tried to get the state to drop or reduce the charges, if only for the child's sake: if her parents were deported, she would almost certainly be deported with them. No dice.

Magidson demanded a jury trial; it was set for May 11. Enter Maurice Possley, a *Chicago Tribune* reporter. His story about the case ran on May 7, and the response was overwhelming. The State's Attorney was deluged with angry calls from the Asian and Hispanic communities, and from individual parents of every color and background, native and immigrant alike. That got results: a plea bargain. Mr. Li pleaded guilty to simple battery—which removed the threat of deportation but, because it is a criminal offense, ended his dream of becoming a lawyer in the United States—in exchange for the state's dropping all charges against his wife. His sentence was to spend one more year in a state-run counseling and parent-education program.

Afterwards, Dick Devine held a press conference to repeat his mantra, "This is not a discipline case; this is a child-abuse case." Many of the reporters seemed to agree. A mob of them surrounded Mr. Li after his guilty plea, asking him to say again that he was sorry, he had been wrong, he had "gone too far." He complied. This public humiliation was painful to watch, but Mr. and Mrs. Li were stoic throughout.

Experiences of this sort were not new to them. Both had been re-educated before, in the system that invented the process and carried it out with breathtaking brutality.

Mrs. Lerner is a writer, psychologist, and attorney in Chicago.

Schoolmates in Canton, Hou-Lin and Luyang were 15 when the Cultural Revolution tore up their lives, 25 when it loosened its grip enough to let them resume their academic studies, and 39 when their only child was born. They wanted to raise her in freedom in America but had had to endure a long separation first. Luyang got her visa in a few months; Hou-Lin and Sylvia had to wait five years. When they were all here together at last, they thought they were safe.

My sympathies were with the Lis, but when I interviewed Mr. Li in his home the next day, I inadvertently caused him more pain than all the other reporters. His wife had told me earlier that his Chinese re-education had been harsher than hers because although she, too, was bound for university when the Cultural Revolution began, her father was a mechanic, a politically correct occupation. Hou-Lin's father was a chemistry professor, and hence "a counterrevolutionary intellectual." As such, he was denounced by a government-incited mob, beaten, goaded to confess his "crimes" in public, and then sent, in his sixties, to be re-educated through labor on a remote collective farm.

A liver ailment that had dogged Hou-Lin throughout his childhood saved him from the same fate, but he was forced to witness his father's humiliation. When I asked him to describe it, he could not. He had been dry-eyed throughout his own ordeal, but tears welled up in his eyes when he tried to talk about his father's. All he could say, over and over, was that his father was "an honest man, so honest—can you understand?—always honest, all his life, honest man." Like his father, Mr. Li is passionate about honesty. Mrs. Li is too.

That's why they had slapped Sylvia. On that day, they learned that she had lied to them, repeatedly—lied about stealing a mechanical pencil from another child at school, lied about forging her mother's signature on the disciplinary note her teacher sent home, lied about losing her ring, a special gift she had promised never to take to the park. Mr. and Mrs. Li believe that when it comes to teaching moral values, there are critical periods in a child's life. And, in their eyes, the critical period for imbuing a deep commitment to honesty is when the child is seven to nine years old.

Both said they lied at that age and were punished for it in ways they never forgot, vivid reminders of how strongly their parents felt about the transcendent value of honesty in a world full of lies, propaganda, and political correctness. That is what they wanted to teach their only child. The authorities, however, wanted her to learn a different lesson, to make her share their false, sentimental view of childhood, their blanket insistence that all "violence" must be outlawed, their smug conviction that baby-boomer niceness is superior to all other moral codes, foreign and domestic.

THE Lis' story called to mind a line of John O'Sullivan's: "In Europe, the fascists goose-stepped; in America, they jog." Two days after our interview, Mr. Li called me. There was something important he had forgotten to tell me, the answer to the question none of us had asked: Does Sylvia still lie? The answer, this proud father told me, is: "No. Since that incident, she never lied to us again." At least for now, the Lis have preserved a value outside the scope of our trendy theories and PC pieties. The rest of us, I'm not so sure about. □



THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

June 26, 1998

Dear Rusty,

I'm sitting here in the den, watching highlights of the U.S. Open. I'm sort of in the doghouse with Tipper, ever since I made the mistake of mixing up Michael Jordan and Michael Jackson.

See, when the Chicago Bulls won the NBA Championship, Michael Jordan was outstanding, as usual. And after the game, I said something like, "Hey, that Michael Jackson can sure play basketball, huh?"

Okay, so I made a slip of the tongue. Now everybody in the right-wing media is making a whole Dan Quayle thing about it. At first, I thought I could cover myself. Sid Blumenthal's idea was that I issue a clarifying statement suggesting that I was trying to call attention to the athletic contributions of extremely effeminate African-Americans, who are so often overlooked in our society.

Later, though, after an angry fax from Michael Jordan's lawyer, who reminded me that confusing the world's most famous and respected athlete with the world's most famous alleged child molester was grounds for a very interesting lawsuit, I decided to come clean, face the music, and blame the media and some expired cough medicine.

I thought it had worked. Everyone pretty much forgot about it except for Tipper. She keeps calling me "Dan" and quizzing me on spelling. This afternoon, I finally put my foot down. I had just finished one of her "flash tests" by correctly identifying photographs of Thurgood Marshall, Harry Belafonte, Willie Brown, and Lena Horne, when she presented me with another set consisting entirely of rap singers.

"Forget it, Tipper. I'm going in the den to watch the U.S. Open."

I was just starting to relax when the phone rang. I heard the familiar sound of ice gently knocking inside a full glass. "Hi, Dad," I said.

"Hey, son. What are you up to today?"

"Not much, Dad. Just watching the U.S. Open."

"Boy, you're taking this Dan Quayle thing to the end, huh? Just so as you know, that kid playing golf with the terrific swing and the million-dollar smile is not, repeat not, Sidney Poitier." He laughed uproariously.

"Is that why you called, Dad?"

"Oh, come on, son. What do you want people to do? Sweep it under the rug just because you're a good Democrat?"

"If CNN and the other networks can do it, why can't you?"

He took a long sip of his drink. "Son, the reason I'm calling is, you guys up there have just classified something called 'salsa' as a vegetable for the school lunch program."

"Yeah, and?"

"Um, isn't that like calling ketchup a vegetable? You're getting black people mixed up with each other, salsa's a vegetable . . . are you feeling okay?"

"Dad, salsa isn't ketchup."

"Then what the hell is it? Just a sec, kiddo. Let me talk to the expert." I heard a little ice rattling, some low murmuring, and then a Spanish-sounding accent. "Well, I talked it over with Estrella as she was topping up my Maker's Mark, and she's of the opinion that what the Mexican people call salsa is what we up here call ketchup. Only theirs is thicker and has little bits of tomato in it."

"Exactly."

"So what you're saying is that thin ketchup isn't a vegetable, but thick ketchup is."

"Dad, who's Estrella again?"

"Estrella is our new housekeeper, boy. She's Mexican. So the next time you come for a visit, I'll just tell her to answer to whatever vaguely Hispanic-sounding name you come up with. Call her Gloria Estefan, if you need to." He erupted into laughter.

I was getting pretty miffed. "I've got to go, Dad. Tiger Woods is about to tee off."

"So him you know. Good for you, kiddo. Just make sure you pronounce that first name right." More laughter.

"Dad, come on. It was a slip of the tongue. Jackson, Jordan. They sound alike."

"And to you, apparently, they all look—"

I hung up. It was too much, Rusty. It was stupid of me to get Michael Jordan and Michael Jackson mixed up. That doesn't make me a racist. It makes me mildly absent-minded. I am not remotely similar to Dan Quayle.

And this salsa/ketchup thing is being blown way out of proportion. Everyone knows that salsa is more nutritious than ketchup, mostly because it has chunks of real tomatoe.

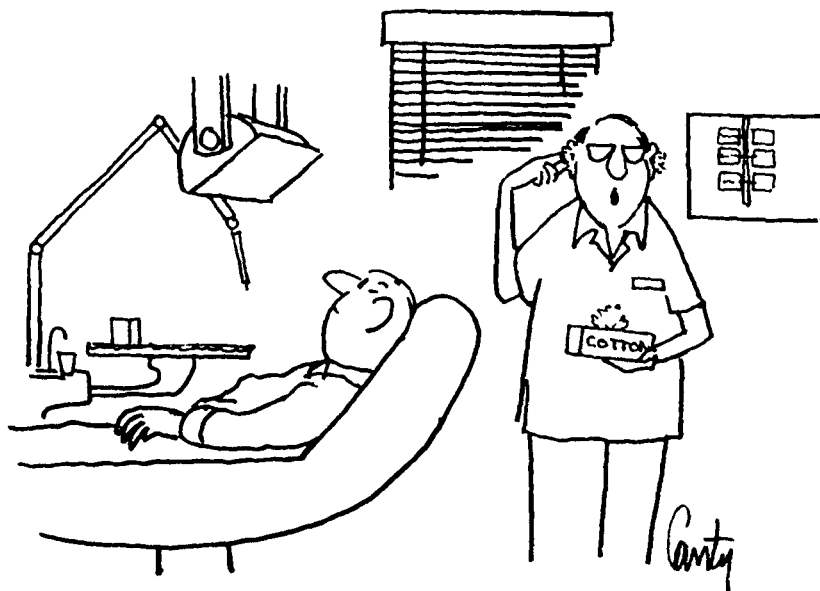
Your pal, Al

help!!!

That Old Feeling

*As NATO talks tough while emitting
Cat sounds, though the arching and spitting
Does not discommode
Serb tanks down the road,
One feels one sits where one was sitting.*

—W. H. VON DREELE



"You might feel a little pain."



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"He's a fantastic lawyer—he got my sentence reduced from ten years to a two-stroke penalty!"



"He does create an illusion of intimacy, doesn't he?"

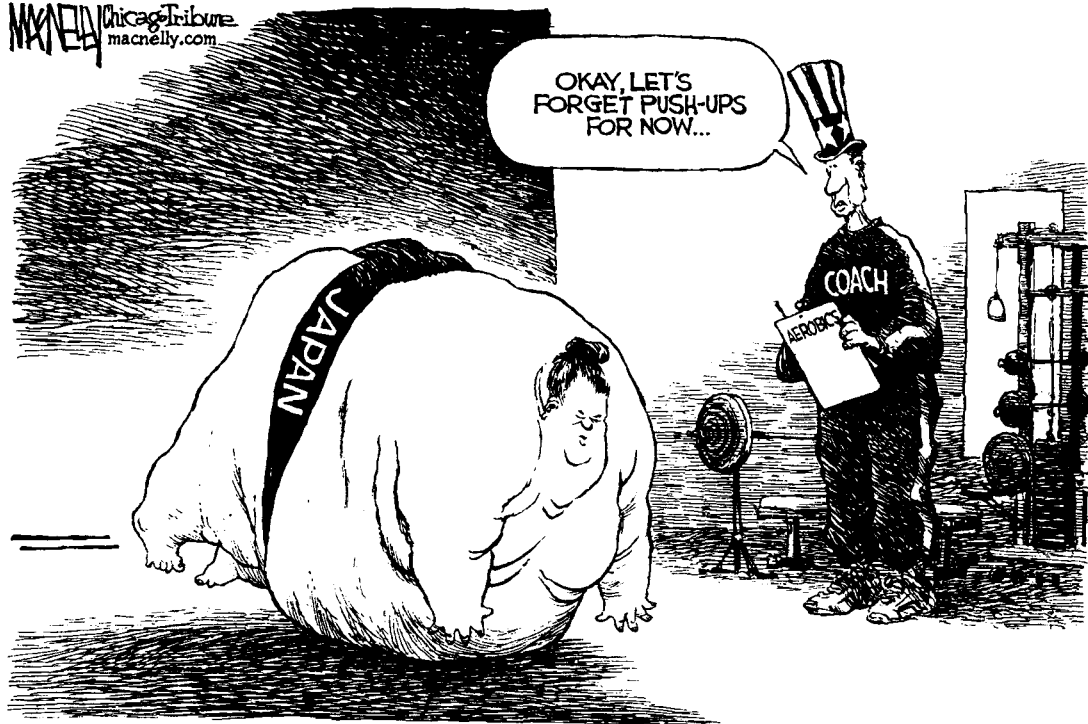
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NEWS 7



"KEN STARR'S LEAKS TO THE PRESS ARE AN EVIL, OUTRAGEOUS ATTEMPT TO MANIPULATE PUBLIC OPINION, ACCORDING TO HIGHLY-PLACED, ANONYMOUS WHITE HOUSE SOURCES!"

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BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

The Good Mother

DANIELLE CRITTENDEN

IT SOMETIMES seems that no educated modern woman can have a baby without suffering agonies of self-doubt about the meaning of motherhood. We fret endlessly about our identities and our independence. In the past, a woman might have enjoyed motherhood or not, been good at it or not, but she did not enter into existential dialogues with herself about what it meant to *be* a mother.

Today we can do nothing but. Usually our angst is focused on what becomes of our careers. A modern middle-class woman will almost certainly have been raised to view herself as a working woman. It is thus a shock to be transformed from a briefcase-toting employee, with large responsibilities in the business world, to a home-bound, sweatsuit-clad wretch at the mercy of a tiny, whimpering infant. Good God, she exclaims to herself, what am I doing

A Mother's Place: Taking the Debate about Working Mothers beyond Guilt and Blame, by Susan Chira (Harper-Collins, 318 pp., \$25)

here? And who is *this*, she wonders, gazing at the new baby, and when did I begin reporting to *him*?

Most women are able to adjust—and joyfully so—to their new state within a few weeks. But there are others who are more like the impulse buyers of a cute puppy in a pet-shop window: they are horrified the first time the little beast wets the carpet and complain that they did not expect owning a pet would be so demanding.

Unfortunately it is the latter group who seem most moved to write books on the dilemma of work *versus* motherhood. A staggering number of such books have been published in recent years, almost all of which attempt to persuade women that their desire to return to work is natural while their

impulse to be a mother is not. Some of these books, to be sure, have been written by ideologues who would have us believe that this most basic of female conditions is imposed upon us by men (although I guess in a crude way it is). Others have been written by social



Bob Bulkin

workers and pseudo-scientists, who claim to have examined all the evidence and confidently conclude that the absolutely best thing a woman can do upon having a baby is to hand it over to someone else. There have even been au-

thors who insist that the rush of maternal feeling, the protectiveness a woman immediately feels for her child, is nothing more than cultural conditioning that we should make every attempt to overcome (interestingly, the most prominent advocates of this view—like Diane Eyer, author of *Mother-Infant Bonding: A Scientific Fiction*—tend not to be mothers themselves).

But perhaps the most fascinating of these apologetics are the memoirs and essays written by women who simply prefer going to work to being with their children. Their books may be crammed with statistics and feminist citations, but ultimately they can best be understood as extended exercises in self-justification: "I'm not a bad mother really!" Working is good for kids if it's good for Mom; there is *too* such a thing as quality time; children actually do better in day care; etc. *A Mother's Place*, by the *New York Times*'s deputy foreign editor, Susan Chira, is the latest example of this genre.

What sets Miss Chira's book apart from others like it, however, is the author's blunt candor about her dislike of spending more than the bare minimum of time with her children. "Sacrifice," she declares, "has no place in the motherhood pantheon." This is a bold position to take, even today. There remains a lingering prejudice against mothers who deliberately put their work ahead of their infants if they don't strictly, for economic reasons, have to. Most women—even those with MBAs—still adjust their careers to the needs of their children, or at least talk as if they do. Even the most ardent advocates of child care hesitate to denigrate traditional motherhood. It would be nice if women could afford to spend more time with their children, they'll sigh, but they just can't, and that's why we need more government-subsidized day care. Miss Chira is bravely willing to tell the truth: Many of the women who work in these affluent times don't have to. They have simply made the calculation that tending to their children is less interesting and lucrative than their job. Why should they sacrifice their ambitions to the out-of-date "Good Mother icon," as Miss Chira calls it?

There is no *solid* evidence that a

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Miss Crittenden is editor of *The Women's Quarterly*, published by the *Independent Women's Forum*.

mother's working full-time harms her baby, we are told, and so she shouldn't feel guilty for doing it. The love a mother feels for her children will compensate for the hours she is away from them. "As I and many other mothers and their children have found, our bonds can survive hours or days apart . . . somehow children sense when a parent is—or is not—committed to them."

Miss Chira suggests a woman can be a good mother in 45 minutes a day—about the same amount of time she might spend exercising.

This would be a reassuring theory if it rested on more than Miss Chira's assertion. But it doesn't. Like any diligent *Times* reporter, she painstakingly reviews the studies on child care, interviews "typical working mothers," and broods about the vastness of human experience and the difficulty of drawing conclusions.

Yet she acknowledges that much of the child-care research is flawed or still in its early stages, and that no one really knows the potential long-term effects of placing babies in day care before they are old enough to smile. She acknowledges, too, that the little we do know can be disturbing—such as the neurological studies which show that the quality of attention a child receives through infancy directly affects its brain development. Indeed, she admits that she does not know the toll her own long hours will take upon her two small children, and she frets, "There are times when I worry about having them shake this book in my face when they are older."

Nonetheless, this does not prevent her from urging working mothers to put aside their guilt, shut their ears to the "drumbeat" of those who would urge them to do otherwise, and trust that what they are doing is right. Despite her own periodic doubts, she insists she is not neglecting her children: she is there for them most of the time, if not physically, at least in spirit. This, she claims, is what is most important: "What I resent most about the dis-

cussion of working motherhood is the premise that working means valuing work more than children. I am not placing one above the other; I am choosing both," she writes. "Rather than torment themselves about what they cannot do, working mothers can take solace in the different gifts they may be able to offer their children. For me, my work is part of my delight in the world of ideas. I believe that this is a heritage I can offer my children that is just as precious and enduring, just as much a token of love, as the traditional mother's baked goods or spotless house."

But the creepy truth, we learn as the book unfolds, is that Miss Chira is in fact placing "one above the other." Her own example proves what she set out to disprove: that women can't "balance" work and family when their children are very young. When a career woman has a baby, one side or the other has to give. Miss Chira does not choose "both"—she chooses work.

When her first baby was born, Miss Chira writes, she took six months' maternity leave because "experts told me that was a bare minimum." But she hated being at home, was startled by how exhausting taking care of a baby was, and "far from [being] the blissful communion, the respite from the routines of work, that I had anticipated, [my] days had become increasingly desperate exercises to fill up the lonely hours." Her daughter's colic, she writes with despair, interfered with the one domestic task she really enjoyed—gourmet cooking. "When I returned to work [full-time], I left behind a gnawing sense of oppression, boredom, and guilt that had cast a pall over my maternity leave."

She would leave home each morning and often not return until her child's bedtime—or later. Much to her relief, her daughter "did not fall apart the first time I worked past 8 P.M.," and the little girl was grateful for the "small presents (a T-shirt, a seashell) I brought back" from business trips. When her son arrived, Miss Chira took only three months' leave. This doesn't mean, however, that she believes a woman should *never* take extended time away from work: for her book, she took an 18-month leave of absence.

Later, when she was offered a promotion that would result in even more demanding hours, she "agonized" but then

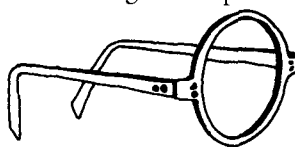
leapt at the chance: "I asked myself what my children needed and what I needed to feel close to them. The answer was enough time every night before bed—to play, to talk over the day, to establish that elusive but essential sense of connection. My months back at work had taught me that I could tolerate some late nights, but I could not bear regularly arriving home after my children were asleep, or even getting home just in time to kiss them good-night."

In other words, Miss Chira is suggesting that a woman can be just as good a mother in 45 minutes a day—or about the same amount of time she might spend toning her thighs on a StairMaster—as if she stayed home or worked part-time. Miss Chira cites, approvingly, one of her friends, who rarely gets back from the office before 9 P.M.: "[Her] half-hour at her daughters' bedtime gives her a sense of intimacy and assurance that is evident every time I have seen her with her children."

BUT as the reader hunts through the book looking for at least one reassuring bit of evidence to support these contentions, she comes up empty. Miss Chira cites studies showing that children in full-time care still strongly identify with their families and prefer their mothers to their baby-sitters (but she does not see why this makes a mother's prolonged absence all the more devastating: the child doesn't cease to look to Mommy; it's just that Mommy isn't there). Miss Chira complains, *à la* Susan Faludi, that visions of perfect mothers are relentlessly forced upon women, and casts the obligatory sneer at June Cleaver and Donna Reed.

She praises the objectivity of feminist researchers who produce evidence that soothes her, and dismisses most others as biased. (Although she gets her facts worrisomely jumbled: she growls at conservative television pundit Laura Ingraham, who, according to Miss Chira, "emerged after the birth of her child as an advocate for the new traditionalist mother." Miss Ingraham is single and without child.)

And when Miss Chira's own research presses uncomfortable conclusions upon her—for instance, that while routine, short separations between a mother and infant are fine, longer separations might be dicey—she falls headlong into self-delusion and arbitrarily defines "short"



separations to include 10- and 12-hour days. In any case, she retorts, shouldn't we be worrying about the danger of being around *too much*? "It is a parent's responsibility to curb children's natural fantasy that they are the center of the universe," she writes. "A mother who never says, 'No, I can't, because this is my time now,' is a mother who convinces children she lives only for them."

But what of the mother who is not around enough even to say no? The "experts" we don't hear much from in Miss Chira's book are the children of all these contented full-time working mothers. Perhaps that is because so many of them are not yet old enough to speak. Or perhaps it's because their opinions open up that tiresome vat of guilt we're supposed to stop carrying around with us. Miss Chira's own children do not seem particularly thrilled with Mommy's job. Her daughter, when she was four, wept bitterly one day after her baby-sitter left, and told Miss Chira that she wanted "her baby-sitter to live with us and never leave, and that her baby-sitter could be the mommy and I could be the baby-sitter."



Though rattled, Miss Chira says she got over it the way she seems to get over everything that rattles her about her children: by plugging ahead at work. In a stunningly unselfconscious passage in her epilogue, she tells us that shortly before her book was published, one of her children became gravely ill; in fact, the child's life was in danger for "many, many months." Fortunately for Miss Chira, however, she discovered that "work can be a lifeline not only in normal times but in dire times as well. . . . Going to work . . . allowed me to visit a world far removed from the one of sickness and sadness that we inhabited."

Unfortunately, Miss Chira's children have no other world to escape to. As I closed this book I thought of all the months Miss Chira took to write it—months of shutting her door and steeling herself against her children's yearning to be with her. In the end she has produced not really a very good book, one that a year from now will be almost completely forgotten by everyone except those children. And they, I suspect, will never forget it. □

known for certain about the battle, apart from the fact that both Murat and the Serbian commander were slain; yet the Serbs persist to this day in celebrating it as one of the glorious moments in their history. Malcolm has an enjoyable time examining and exposing as fraudulent the myths the Serbs have woven around Kosovo Polje over the centuries, an exposure which will doubtless be accorded a surly reception in Belgrade.

The last vestiges of Serbian control over Kosovo vanished in the middle of the fifteenth century, after the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453. Thereafter Kosovo remained an Ottoman possession for four and a half centuries. Signs of discontent, even sporadic rebellions, were manifested from time to time; but the Kosovars in general remained loyal to the Ottoman Sultan. Even the so-called League of Prizren, set up in the wake of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78 to press for greater local autonomy, was essentially a Muslim religious movement which did not question the Sultan's ultimate authority. Even so, it did not escape retribution from Constantinople. The Sublime Porte acted quickly to suppress the League, and the Kosovars remained quiet and well-behaved for the next thirty years.

Turkish rule over Kosovo ended in 1912, when Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro all went to war with the Ottoman Empire. The Serbs quickly overran Kosovo, and over the next two years, by a policy of systematic butchery and destruction of property, they gave the Albanian inhabitants a foretaste of what was to be their lot under Serbian rule in the years ahead. A respite was afforded the Kosovars by the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, when the Austrians occupied the northern half of the country, and the Bulgarians the southern. But the post-war settlement placed the Kosovars once more under the rule of Belgrade, when the province was incorporated in the new Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Thousands of Serbian and Montenegrin colonists were settled in the province, riding roughshod, in most cases, over the Albanians' property as well as their civil rights.

Much the same fate befell Kosovo during the Second World War. After the German invasion of Yugoslavia in the spring of 1941 the province was divided between Italy and Bulgaria, the lion's share going to the Italians, who

Ground Zero

J. B. KELLY

IF we needed any reminder of what is at stake in the present crisis over Kosovo, Noel Malcolm offers us, on the first page of his new history, a chilling forecast. "It is arguably the area with the worst human-rights abuses in the whole of Europe, and certainly the place where, if war does break out, the killing and destruction will be more intense than anything hitherto witnessed in the region." A grim prospect, indeed, especially coming on the heels of the war in Bosnia, the origins of which Malcolm has already outlined for us in his admirable *Bosnia: A Short History*.

As with his earlier study, Malcolm opens his historical account with the migration of the Slavs into the Balkans in the declining years of the Roman Empire. The Roman hegemony was succeeded by that of Byzantium, at least

in name, for the Serbs, Albanians, and Vlachs were a turbulent people, not readily subjugated. One of the great obstacles that Malcolm runs up against is the absolute dearth of historical material about events in Kosovo from the

Kosovo: A Short History, by Noel Malcolm (New York University Press, 492 pp., \$29.95)

ninth to the fourteenth century—five hundred years, of which virtually nothing is known other than the extension of Serbian control over Kosovo in the early thirteenth century.

The veil begins to lift in the late fourteenth century—by which time the Serbian state itself was breaking up—with the semi-mythical battle of Kosovo Polje, a few miles northwest of Prishtina, in 1389, when a combined Serbian-Bosnian army was defeated by an Ottoman force under the command of Sultan Murat I. Almost nothing is

Mr. Kelly is an historian of the modern Middle East.

were then more or less in control of Albania. In the course of the war the bulk of the Serbs and Montenegrins in the country fled or were driven out. Only a minority of them returned after 1945, making up around 12 per cent of the population. By 1991 they accounted for only 11 per cent, while the Kosovar Albanians accounted for 82 per cent, a discrepancy due in large measure to the Albanians' higher birth rate. (Serbia, by way of contrast, boasted—if that is the right word—the highest abortion rate in Europe.)

Malcolm does not believe that Tito treated Kosovo too badly. Perhaps, being a Croat, Tito had some sympathy for non-Serbian minorities. All the same, his years as dictator saw the implementation of a deliberate anti-Islamic policy in Kosovo: *madrasas* (Koranic schools) were closed down, the *shari'ah* courts were suppressed, and

agency of Yugoslavia, lost little time in appropriating. It served him well. After winning the presidency he moved to amend the Serbian constitution in the spring of 1989 so as to reduce Kosovo's autonomy and to invest Serbia with control over the region's judicial system, as well as ultimate authority over its social, economic, and educational institutions. A year later the provincial assembly and government were dissolved by order of Belgrade, most of the Albanian Kosovars holding government posts were dismissed, and the majority of Albanian doctors practicing in the provincial hospitals were discharged. To add to these various insults the Serbs embarked upon a propaganda campaign at the time of the Serbian attack on Bosnia in the spring of 1992, conjuring up the specter of a vast Muslim conspiracy to undermine the Yugoslav federation. For the Muslim Albanians of Kosovo it was the last straw.

It has to be confessed that Noel



Malcolm's book is not an easy read—for this reviewer, at least—which makes one look a little askance at the praise which has been bestowed upon it by numerous reviewers in the British press. (The exception, which must have caused Malcolm some amusement, was a sour appraisal by Douglas Hurd, the Conservative former foreign secretary, who had been roasted by Malcolm in his earlier book for his, Hurd's, limp-wristed approach to the Bosnian conflict.) Although *Kosovo* is a work of considerable scholarship, it is not without some minor flaws, more particularly in its references to Islamic institutions. For instance, it is not correct to speak of Muslim "clergy" or Islamic "theology"; and the *shari'ah* is more a system or codification of law, *tout court*, than of religious or canon law. But these are small errors in a work on Balkan history, mere slips of the pen which do not detract in any substantial way from the overall worth of Malcolm's book. □

If war breaks out in Kosovo, the killing and destruction will be more intense than anything hitherto witnessed in the region.

the Dervish orders were outlawed. Yugoslavia had been reconstituted after 1945 as a federation of six republics. Kosovo was declared an "autonomous region," although remaining a constituent part of Serbia. The new Yugoslav constitution of 1974 gave Kosovo a status almost equivalent to that of the six republics, though not quite. To have categorized Kosovo as a republic might well have opened the road to secession, perhaps even to the unification of Kosovo with Albania. So it remained constitutionally part of Serbia, the Kosovars being classified as a nationality, not a nation.

The screws were turned on Kosovo after the death of Tito. Serbian propaganda in the 1980s depicted the Kosovars as a mob of ruffians and rapists who were making life unbearable for the Serbian colonists in their midst. This alleged persecution of the Kosovar Serbs provided the theme that Slobodan Milosevic, then seeking an issue that might help propel him into the presi-

Missing Messiah

PAULA FREDRIKSEN

CULTURAL images of Jesus of Nazareth rarely render the features of that early-first-century Jewish religious figure. The Ravenna mosaics of the late imperial Church present a Roman military officer, beardless and armored, holding a standard proclaiming: "I am the Truth, the Way, and the Life." Luther's Jesus (as Luther's Paul) detested Judaism and preached something awfully close to sixteenth-century Protestantism to the obviously uncomprehending ancient crowds. And the Jesus of the modern American academy often shares the anti-sexist, anti-hierarchical, anti-right-wing politics of his late-twentieth-century liberal portraitists.

What accounts for the variety of interpretations? Historical malfeasance? Perhaps in part. But surely a larger part of the explanation has to do with the

unique importance of Jesus in Western Christian culture. Unlike virtually any other figure from the past—Socrates, say, or Francis of Assisi, or even Freud—Jesus bears the singular burden of having to make immediate sense to us. The sorts of differences in world view, instincts, and manners that add charm

The Human Christ: The Search for the Historical Jesus, by Charlotte Allen (Free Press, 383 pp., \$26)

to exchanges between Lizzie and Mr. Darcy, or that madden us when we try to deal with our parents, can turn threatening when they reveal the yawning gap between us in our world, and Jesus in his. Anachronistic reconstructions of the figure of Jesus are thus, in a sense, a backhanded compliment, a disguised index of his continuing cultural and emotional importance to later interpreters.

If the down side of such interpretations is their intrinsic anachronism, their up side can be their moral clarity and didactic force. In such instances we

Prof. Fredriksen, an historian of ancient Christianity, is the author of From Jesus to Christ (Yale). Her latest study, Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews, will be published next year by Knopf.

see not the first-century figure, but the ethical and religious values of the writer—hence, for example, the humane ethics of Jefferson's deist Jesus. This use of the figure of Jesus serves to sanction the moral vision of his interpreter. And as with most historical problems, retrospect aids our vision: we see such improbable correspondences (as between the ethics of the deists and the ethics of Jesus) only when we have out-

Miss Allen acquaints the reader neither with current research nor with what was valuable in earlier efforts.

grown the world view that once seemed so compelling, and thus so obviously universal.

Does this mean that it is in effect impossible to read—or write—a good historical study of Jesus (and, by extension, of any culturally important figure)? Does our submergence in our own historical moment make it impossible to judge our own interpretations critically? Of course not. We as readers—and my academic colleagues and I as writers—routinely choose between reconstructions, routinely judge between good history and bad. And one of our standards of judgment is to gauge how well Jesus or any similar figure has been situated in a plausible historical context. The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls; the explosion of archaeological knowledge from the land of Israel since 1948, and especially since 1967 with the reunification of Jerusalem; the intensive work on late-Second Temple Judaism pouring out of departments of religion and of Jewish Studies—all these have provided the building blocks for reconstructing Jesus' native context. If the Jesus who emerges from some study is not an early-first-century Jew speaking to other first-century Jews, concerned about the problems that concerned them and dying for first-century-Jewish reasons, then he is not the Jesus of history but a man without a country, a figure of the author's imagining. No grand interpretive consensus rules the field—witness the superabundance of new studies being published every year—but the principled commitment to the sym-

thetic reconstruction of the world of Jesus and his contemporaries now unites all serious efforts.

Charlotte Allen's new book acquaints the reader neither with current research nor with what was valuable and interesting in earlier efforts. Instead she offers a long review of what, to her mind, were interpretive failures. After a quick tour through first-century Galilee and Judea, she surveys epochal moments in the Western interpretation of the figure of Jesus from the second to the twentieth century. The strategy of presentation and the intellectual take-home message are identical in each of her ten subsequent chapters. First she interweaves a narrative of a given period's constructions of Jesus with a description of that period's key intellectual or political allegiances. Then she points out how the given image of Jesus merely reflects the salient points of what was then the current intellectual and cultural context. Finally, she concludes with sweeping generalizations about the motives and methods of the people she has studied. Thus, the eighteenth-century rationalists were "merely on an ideological crusade"; Schleiermacher, Kant, Rousseau, et al. "sought to make Jesus presentable to the modern age by clothing him in philosophical garments"; mid-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century American interpreters used "the gospel of social meliorism and liberal democracy" to displace "the transcendent as the religion of Jesus"; and so on. And on. Somewhere after page 200, I numbed up: in terms of both style and argument, *The Historical Christ* leaves the reader in about as much suspense as Aquinas's *Summa Theologica*.

By turns cute and snide, Miss Allen's tone further trivializes her subject. Voltaire appears as "that lovable rascal!"; ancient crowds "hurl imprecations and heavy objects," while the theological terms in which they thought "sound archaic and even silly" today; medieval and patristic biblical exegetes "often produced ludicrous results"; Jefferson's effort to retrieve a Jesus meaningful to him makes for "rather dull reading" and a "rather dull ramble." Miss Allen "knows" things that she could not possibly know: the physical aspect of Athanasius, fourth-century bishop of Alexandria (he "had the swarthy looks and toughness of a street thug"); the sartorial tendencies of two

early Christian prophetesses ("flashily dressed"); the spiritual posture of roughly two million people in the late first century ("there were no atheists, or even agnostics, among the Jews"); King Herod's own religious commitment (he "wore his Judaism lightly"). Whether she likes or respects any of these people is, of course, Miss Allen's business; but her incessant condescension adds tedium to her tale.

ELEMENTARY errors of fact or interpretation accumulated so rapidly in the first part of her book that, well before getting to the eighteenth century, Miss Allen had lost my confidence. I will give only a few examples here, but in my copy I have dog-eared every other one of the first ninety pages. On page one, she conflates Jewish "crucifixion" with Roman crucifixion. Only the latter is a mode of execution; the former ("hanging from a tree," as the texts usually render the phrase, e.g., Deut. 21:23) is the display of the corpse of a person killed in some other way. Miss Allen states that Tiberius Julius Alexander was "the only Roman governor of Judea who made an effort to understand Jewish religious beliefs and customs." He did not need to make an effort: he was a Jew himself, who converted to the Roman religion. She scolds the emperor Marcus Aurelius for an anti-Christian persecution in Lyons in the year 177, evidently unaware that all such actions before 250 were local initiatives, not imperial policy. She misattributes to the third-century theologian Origen a famous quotation from the late-first-century martyr Ignatius. Isaiah 7:14 explicitly refers to King Ahaz, not Hezekiah. Marcion did not "excise the entire Old Testament from the Christian Bible, and most of the New Testament as well." In the early second century, the only Bible Christians *had* was "the Old Testament," which was not so named because there was as yet no such thing as a "new" testament. Marcion conceived the idea of explicitly Christian scripture, and so compiled the very first "New Testament": his enemies, in response, came up with an expanded version, but they retained Marcion's conception, while insisting that the earlier scriptures too were legitimately Christian, though "old." Constantine did not "meddle in church affairs." Like every emperor



before him, he bore the responsibility for ultimate oversight of all legitimate cults in the Empire: hence the imperial office of *pontifex maximus*. In antiquity, the literal meaning of scripture was never paramount: allegory was thought to reveal its truer, deeper, more spiritual meaning. The Greek "Iudaioi" can mean either "Judeans" or "Jews," a fact of which Miss Allen seems unaware when she sniffs that the Jesus Seminar's translation of the Gospel of John "is not true to the text."

Charlotte Allen announces in the introduction to *The Human Christ* that she is no biblical scholar, and this is true. According to the jacket blurb, however, she is "an accomplished journalist." I hope that she speaks more reliably on other topics. Here she has misinterpreted earlier material, mismanaged historical information, and missed entirely what remains intellectually and morally compelling in current research. There is much more to this story. Stay tuned. □

statistics confirm, that they protect women and minorities more than white males. Women on average are weaker and more vulnerable to attack than men; the possibility that a woman may have a gun thus provides her with greater marginal deterrence. Since minorities are likelier than whites on average to live in places with high crime rates, concealed-gun laws provide them with greater than average benefit.

Lott's book could hardly be more timely. While the recent schoolyard massacres in the South and Northwest have inevitably sparked calls for more gun control, Lott's careful review of mass killings shows that laws permitting concealed weapons prevent more such tragedies than they cause. This finding casts doubt on the prudence of laws that keep guns out of the hands of responsible adults such as teachers simply be-

Trigger Happiness

JOHN O. MCGINNIS

GUN control remains as much a mainstay of the liberal agenda today as welfare was in the Seventies and Eighties. Both policies have the political advantage of promising simple solutions to intractable social problems. We are told that poverty can be eliminated simply by giving the poor more money and that violence can be contained simply by eliminating the private ownership of guns. Unfortunately,

More Guns, Less Crime: Understanding Crime and Gun Control Laws, by John R. Lott Jr. (Chicago, 225 pp., \$23)

both ideas ignore hard truths about human behavior that cannot be changed by government fiat. Welfare creates a culture of dependency because it reduces the incentives of the poor to work. Gun control does not decrease gun ownership by criminals but instead reduces their incentives to refrain from violence because it decreases the supply of armed law-abiding citizens who might resist them. As a result welfare is likely to lead to an increase in poverty and gun control is likely to lead to an increase in crime.

Such facts about human nature were so intuitively clear to earlier statesmen that nineteenth-century America had neither substantial government welfare nor gun control. Today, however, conservatives must work continuously to recover the verities of previous centuries

in order to prevent the disasters to which new forms of social engineering must ultimately lead.

John Lott's *More Guns, Less Crime* revives the wisdom of the past by using the latest tools of social science. By constructing careful statistical models and deploying a wealth of crime data he shows that laws permitting the carrying of concealed weapons actually lead to a drop in crime in the jurisdictions that enact them. Mr. Lott has thus done to gun control what Charles Murray did to welfare payments in *Losing Ground*. By providing strong empirical evidence that yet another liberal policy is a cause of the very evil it purports to cure, he has permanently changed the terms of debate on gun control. Indeed, one measure of his success is the campaign of ad hominem vituperation to which he has already been subjected, including the false claim that his work is funded by the firearms industry. (See "Trigger Happy," *NR*, June 22, p. 49.)

One of the many strengths of Lott's approach is that he turns what gun-control advocates see as their strongest arguments into powerful weapons against them. Such advocates contend that permitting any sane and law abiding adult to carry a concealed weapon is the very worst kind of weapons regime, but in fact it turns out to be the very best at deterring crime. When weapons are not visible, criminals become less bold, because they cannot know whether any potential victim is armed.

Gun-control enthusiasts also imply that such laws are sops to angry red-necks. This too turns out to be false. In fact, economic reasoning suggests, and

Lott suggests that just as welfare payments are likely to lead to an increase in poverty, gun control is likely to lead to an increase in crime.

cause they work at a school. By designating schools as gun-free zones we effectively post a placard on their doors declaring that criminals face little risk of armed resistance within their precincts.

Finally, Lott intriguingly suggests that even in the jurisdictions which allow concealed weapons, the price of gun permits may be too high. Since gun owners who are not criminals benefit not only themselves but the surrounding community, a lower price would better reflect the attendant social benefits.

Lott's work is a model of the meticulous application of economics and statistics to law and policy. Beyond its specific support for the right to bear arms, this book more generally underscores the continued importance of the conservative empirical tradition in social thought that began with David Hume and Adam Smith. By amassing a lot of little facts about contemporary life such scientists provide further confirmation of the large and enduring truths about the human condition that remain the surest guide to sound social policy. □

Mr. McGinnis is a professor of law at Cardozo Law School, Yeshiva University, in New York City.

Achy Breaky Hearts

ANDREW STUTTAFORD

NOBODY wants to get a report telling him that he has cancer. My father certainly did not. But, as his secretary tells it, his only response as he read the note from his pathologist was a muttered "Well, well, well." One radical prostatectomy later, he should, with a bit of luck, survive for many years. But reactions as calm as his may not.

Understatement, not making a fuss, is a vanishing virtue. Our culture, allegedly, respects it: Rose, the heroine of *Titanic*, picks up her life after the ship goes down. She does not mention Jack, the love she has lost, for the next 86 years. This is portrayed as a good thing. But it is a false tribute, a polite compliment to a god in which people no longer believe. Understatement is passé, perceived as a musty, rather masculine quality that is no longer quite relevant.

Even the Republicans have realized this. Their 1996 Convention was a lugubrious, weeping procession, designed to mask the fact that the GOP had gone to the old school for its candidate. The American people were not fooled. They wanted their mush, and they wanted it convincing. And so they rejected a laconic war veteran in favor of a President capable of choking up over the life and hard times of Ruth Bader Ginsburg. Or at least faking it, secure in the knowledge that there were votes to be won from such an embarrassing display.

The Stoics would have been disgusted. Wise old Greeks, they understood that there was no emotion that cannot usefully be repressed. It was a philosophy that elevated calm rationality and an acceptance of the misfortunes that life may bring. It was a point of view that was to linger. It had to. As successive generations were quick to realize, life could be "poor, nasty, brutish, and short."

And they dealt with it. Stoicism was a habit, not a philosophy. In a world

where disease, childbirth, and war conspired to keep life expectancies short, there was no time for therapy. Whining would not work; grim determination just might. To be sure, religious belief provided some support, a mechanism for accepting the savage unpredictability of existence. As a popular nineteenth-century tombstone epitaph for a child

*The American people
want their mush,
and they want it
convincing.*

explained, "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord." Especially since, it was widely believed, he offered the righteous the prospect of a sweeter hereafter. Notions of immortality made suffering in this life much easier to bear.

So did the force of example. We liked our heroes tough. The English general Lord Uxbridge was unfortunate enough to lose a leg at Waterloo. He did not, however, lose his sense of humor, noting within a few minutes of the amputation that he had enjoyed "a pretty long run. I have been a beau these 47 years." It was time, he said, to give younger men a chance. The leg received a decent burial. As for Lord Uxbridge, he returned to the scene some years later and insisted on dining at the table where he had lain as his leg was sawed off.

What he never did was write a book about the problems of the differently abled. To be sure, his stoicism was praised at the time, but it was also, to a degree we find unimaginable today, expected. As an ideal, at least, acceptance of adversity was something to be aimed for, part of a series of interlocking obligations that made an often hard life bearable. People did not want to feel each other's pain. They had quite enough of their own.

And yet they coped—grumbling, certainly, but moving on with their lives. Which, over time, got better, and as they did old attitudes began to fade. Science smoothed out life's rough edges, but what was left, paradoxically, became harder to bear. We defined disaster down, leaving each succeeding generation to mutter that the young do not know how lucky they are.

That may not have been immediately apparent in 1914. The soldiers in the trenches during the First World War persevered under appalling conditions, but when they followed their officers over the top, their stoicism died with them. The soldier's stolid acceptance of adversity came to be seen not as his ally, but rather as an accomplice in his destruction. Stoicism was a mug's game, evidence only of a deadened sensibility. It was a quality enjoyed only by men who had ceased to care for themselves.

This view had been anticipated by Freud. Even before the Great War his bizarre tales of trauma and repression had been finding an audience. For the first time, technology had created a society where a large number of people had time on their hands. And they were using that time to worry. Freud played on this anxiety, and his ideas spread rapidly in a culture that was too shattered by Passchendaele and the Somme to argue back.

Particularly against something so seductive as psychoanalysis. It was so easy. Suffering in silence no longer made any sense. Moaning could be medicine, a "talking cure" that worked. Dignity died on the psychiatrist's couch and self-control was caricatured and turned into a vice. Look at the couple glaring out of Grant Wood's *American Gothic* (1930). Thin-lipped and somewhat intimidating, these ordinary Midwesterners (the artist's sister and a local dentist) have been transformed into icons of repression.

Well, they may not have been the Waltons, but they, and others like them, were probably doing their best. And, often, their descendants still do. From time to time we see them on CNN, piling sandbags on the levee as flood waters rise somewhere in the Dakotas, or rebuilding a small town after yet another Texas tornado.

These stories are breaking news, but they have the feel of a rerun, a Capra movie perhaps, shot in black and white, the echo of an older, wiser America.

Mr. Stuttaford is a writer based in New York City.

Traditional resilience is a quiet story, ill suited to an age that colorizes its dramas. So we rewrite the script, twisting the language of stoicism to describe something entirely different.

The bedraggled individuals on daytime TV may be encouraged to proclaim themselves "survivors" (normally of some graphically described form of "abuse"), but the tough talk is an illusion. Encouraged by our culture of therapy, these "survivors" have turned their troubles into theater, a ludicrous soap opera with themselves as the stars and us as an all too appreciative audience, our voyeurism justified as part of the "healing process." They have not overcome their trauma. They have embraced it and let it define their existence. And we let it define ours, secure in the knowledge that we too will have our

chance, that everyone can become a victim.

Even the real survivors. The night of the World Trade Center bombing, a New York television station showed a group of schoolchildren who had been stuck for an hour or so in one of the building's elevators. Trapped in the dark they may have been, but their teacher had kept their spirits up until rescue came. It was a sweet, brave story. The children seemed fine. They had gone through an adventure, not a trauma. And then the anchorwoman leaned forward, her face twisted into the mask of concern usually reserved for a famine in a faraway country. Would the children be receiving "counseling"? She already knew the answer. And so did I.

Well, well, well. Perhaps it is time for stoics to complain. □

FILM

Puppets and People

JOHN SIMON

ALFRED Hitchcock may not have been in top form in *Dial M for Murder*; even so, Frederick Knott's adaptation of his stage thriller moved along with elegance and panache, at least from Ray Milland and John Williams, and cool beauty from Grace Kelly. "Drawing-room murder with cold, literate, gentlemanly skulduggery," Pauline Kael called it. The new, very loose adaptation of it, directed by the able Andrew Davis, is somewhat less cold, and a lot less gentlemanly and literate. It is written by Patrick Smith Kelly, whose previous experience consists of studying business at the University of Colorado and doing six years' worth of stand-up comedy in New York City. The film is titled *A Perfect Murder*, which, of course, it isn't, except perhaps of what was good in the 1954 movie.

Steven Taylor (Michael Douglas) is a millionaire Wall Streeter whose shady deals have left him on the brink of bankruptcy or worse. Emily, his even richer wife (Gwyneth Paltrow), has felt subjugated and neglected by him, and has begun an affair with David Shaw (Viggo Mortensen), a rising young artist, or so she thinks. Actually, Shaw

is a scam artist and gigolo, who has been jailed for fleecing rich women, and Steven discovers both his wife's infidelity and her lover's seamy past. Partly to avenge his hurt ego, partly to inherit her fortune, Steven wants Emily dead; he will pay David half a million to kill her in a carefully planned, supposedly perfect murder.

The situation has possibilities. Steven, in his way, loves Emily, which is an additional motive for his vengeance. David, for the first time, feels for his victim, with whom he has great sex, but half a million tax-exempt dollars are pretty irresistible. Emily cares for as well as resents her husband but is passionate about David, and thus thoroughly torn. If only the scenarist were good enough to fully convey and exploit these ambivalences, and if the three actors had what it takes.

What emerges is our realization that a murderous triangle, however dramatic, requires a strong script and cast to be involving. In the *New York Times*, Stephen Holden wrote, "Douglas, who with each film looks more like a wretched, riled-up rooster, makes Steven a pleasure to loathe." The avian description is apt, though I would have pre-

ferred pouter pigeon with ruffled feathers. Either way, the pudgy face, the beady eyes, the hair artfully curling down the neck cry out for chicken coop or dovecote. As an actor, Douglas excels at obsession and shiftiness; for all his fine rage and cajolery, we look in him in vain for the hate-filled lover, the suffering human being.

Viggo Mortensen, an actor best suited to gangster roles (though he wasn't bad as the brutal Marine sergeant in *G.I. Jane*), is even less appealing as David. His hair longer and scragglier than Douglas's, his face subtly unshaven, his voice tonelessly laid-back, and his skin bedizened with bits of blue paint, he is at best the naïve teenager's idea of the macho artist.

Worst of all is Gwyneth Paltrow, an actress whose emaciated, asexual face apparently delights women and gays, but holds scant attraction for any heterosexual male I have discussed her with, especially as her acting is arrested at the level of a debutante performing at a charity benefit. She goes through the motions and emotions dutifully, but no inwardness comes across. So what have we got, with Michael's poultriness, Viggo's paltriness, and Gwyneth's Paltrowness? Not much.

The plot has as many holes as a bag lady's stockings, but I cannot adduce them without giving away too much. Most interesting about *A Perfect Murder* are the production design of Philip Rosenberg, particularly the fabulous Fifth Avenue apartment overlooking Central Park, and the costumes by Ellen Mirojnick. She is quoted as wanting to seduce us: "Steven Taylor's clothing is all fine, fine fabric. It's hand-tailored from top to bottom, and, inclusive of his leather shoes, everything except for a

Continues on page 53

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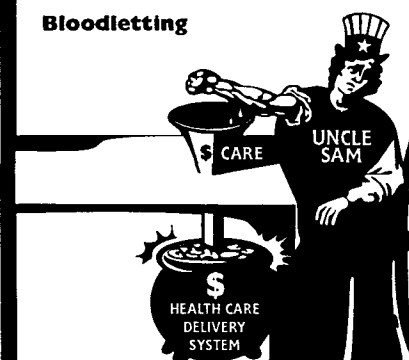
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SIMON

(Continued from page 51)

tie or two was designed especially for Michael." So, too, "almost everything was made for Gwyneth."

Just imagine if that sort of care had gone into the writing and acting! But this is emblematic of Hollywood: enchanting settings, expensively hand-made clothes, and inside—anything but human beings.

■ Human beings take stage center in Cédric Klapisch's *Un Air de famille* (*Family Resemblances*), a film based on a

play by Agnes Jaoui and Jean-Pierre Bacri, who live together, write together, and often act together. They have written four highly successful films, and this is also Klapisch's fourth feature; I have reviewed his *When the Car's Away* here. This one is even better, though it seemed more to my European taste than it was to my wife's American one.

Almost all of it takes place inside a café, *Au Père Tranquille*, which the subtitles render, perhaps too freely, as *Sleepy Dad's*. What goes on there this Friday evening is neither tranquil nor somnolent: a family reunion for a few drinks to be followed by dinner at a fancy restaurant. There is Henri, the café owner, unhappily married to Arlette, who phones to say she has moved in with a girlfriend, to meditate on whether or not to leave him. There is his sister, Betty, thirty and unmarried, an outspoken creature who has just given her boss what for and may lose her job. She enjoys drinking, and is sort of girlfriend to Denis, Henri's factotum, a bookish fellow much reproached for reading on the job.

The third sibling is Philippe, Maman's favorite and Number 4 at a big computer concern. He has just had his two minutes on a TV show and is preoccupied with how he performed, including whether he wore the wrong tie or smiled too much. He is polling everyone, either buttonholing or phoning them. Maman thinks he was sublime, as does, less convincingly, his mousy, dominated wife, Yoyo, whose birthday this is. She celebrates it with a couple of Suzes too many, eliciting more veritas than some

family members can stand. Maman, by the way, left Papa long ago, which still occasions random sour remarks from her children.

These six manage to keep the joint jumping, mostly comically but with a persistent edge of misery. Even Caruso, Henri's dog, paralyzed with age and no longer singing (in his fashion), contributes his share, just lying there, "like a rug, only alive." Mother falls down the stairs to the bathroom; Henri steps outside to listen to the trains whooshing and whistling by; Philippe calls Number 5 at his firm and gets a devastating review. Denis becomes painfully jealous of Betty, who defiantly defends to Maman her single status. Henri drives off to retrieve Arlette, but is rebuffed. Yoyo mildly asserts herself. That is about it.

Yet almost every familial and extrafamilial relationship is put to the funny-sad test. Thus Yoyo gets wholly undesired birthday presents: a puppy that, she has good reason to believe, will end up like Caruso; a leash for this unwanted pup; a jewel-studded choker for herself, which she dejectedly mistakes for a dog collar. As shot in mostly subdued light by Bernard Delhomme, and racily directed by Klapisch, 107 minutes go by with a perfect blend of hilarity and agony. The co-writers play Betty and Henri, and are surrounded by no less apt others, including Claire Maurier, who, as Maman, brings back memories of herself as the young mother in *The 400 Blows*. Indeed, the spirit of Truffaut seems to watch over this movie infused with his antic sensibility. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

The Power of Ideas: The Heritage Foundation at 25 Years, by Lee Edwards (Jameson, 313 pp., \$29.95)

TWO days after the 1980 election, the Heritage Foundation presented to Ronald Reagan and his advisors *Mandate for Leadership*, a thousand-page blueprint for conservative government. Over the next four years the Administration acted on an astounding 60 per cent of the recommendations therein—which is why, suggests WFB in the introduction to Lee Edwards's aptly titled history, Reagan's tenure was 60 per cent successful. The

book details the Foundation's often sizable role in the political battles before, during, and since the Reagan years—those over energy policy, SDI, and welfare reform, to name but a few. At times Edwards cheers a bit too loudly, but in the end it's hard to argue with his declaration that, 25 years after its humble beginnings in a cramped basement office, Heritage is today "the most influential think tank in the most important city in the most powerful nation in the world." Edwards tells us how this happened, reminding us in the process how fortunate we are that it did.

—CRISTOPHER RAPP

ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

Who Didn't Kill Tobacco Killers?

NEW YORK, JUNE 23

The Democrats were very quick to promote the proposition that the tobacco industry had "bought" the vote of the senators who said No on the proposed bill. Republican spokesmen took it on the chin for a bit in the public mall, but then one of them came up with a rather cute riposte. Well, he said, maybe it's true that the tobacco people bought off the Republicans. On the other hand, the trial lawyers bought off the Democrats, so we're even.

It's always distressing to hear it said that a vote one happens to agree with is the result of commercial seduction. Critics take it for granted that because Senator Jones voted No, he was spastically responding to expenditures by tobacco PR to do the wrong thing. Not much attention has been given to the component parts of that argument. Are the senators voting because they were bribed to do so by direct contributions to their campaigns by Tobacco? Or are we being told that the money spent on radio and television to inform (misinform?) the public resulted in a change of opinion that registered on the senators, when time came to vote? Almost 60 per cent of the American people opposed the then-current version of the proposed legislation. That being so, the Senate that turned the bill down was doing what the public wanted done. Next question: Was the public misinformed? Were the tobacco people lying?

If we apply the same order of curiosity to the trial lawyers, one notes that here a very important step in democratic punctilio is being ignored. The Trial Lawyers Association doesn't place full-page ads in the papers or 30-second spots on TV. What would they say? "Don't let Congress take away a trial lawyer's right to a million dollars"? I know the arguments of the trial lawyers at close quarters because two of them have argued their case on my television program and they are very persuasive. What they say in effect is that if you don't let them take a substantial part of the award, they will stop taking risks to defend the oppressed. But it is very difficult to condense that message into a television

spot or even a page in the newspaper when the argument's bottom line is against an amendment to the congressional act that would have capped compensation at up to \$4,000 per hour (what the tobacco lawyers who had been working on the cases longest would have got).

So that we don't have, with the trial lawyers, any sense of orderly democratic procedure, which is that a) the aggrieved or potentially aggrieved agents (tobacco companies, trial lawyers) state their case to the public; b) the public is roused and states its opinion to Congress; and c) Congress, the voice of the people, responds acquiescently.

So who are we supposed to be mad at today? President Clinton has declared a jihad against Tobacco, and his most recent proposal, early in the week, causes one to wonder. Has anything so . . . dumb been proposed in the last one hundred years? He has directed the Department of Health & Human Services to find out which are the best-selling cigarettes among minors aged 12 to 17. Let us suppose, simply for the exercise, that the investigators discover that Camel cigarettes are favored by the young illegal smokers. So what does President Clinton do with this datum?

He denounces the makers of Camel cigarettes. The immediate effect of that denunciation will be to persuade a million junior smokers to try Camel cigarettes. Even as they would try El Dorado marijuana if word went out that it was the most popular among the flower children. The advertising agency for Camel would find clients knocking down their door to hire them to use for the benefit of McDonald's hamburgers or Budweiser beer the techniques that ingratiated Camel cigarettes to American youth.

The utter frivolity of Mr. Clinton in his



"The Freedom of Information Act?
Who told you about that?"

approach to the tobacco problem is enough to estrange Monica Lewinsky. If the states want young people to stop smoking, which presumably they do want them to do, since they have passed laws to that effect, they could act quickly and directly. Pass a law that anyone under 18 caught with cigarettes will lose his/her driver's license for six months. Why would Mr. Clinton hesitate to make that recommendation? When he was governor, he recommended disqualification for any school-age applicant for a driver's license who was not attending school.

But we are left with the mess we are in. Clearly the only way to go is to make way for the tobacco industry to hire the Trial Lawyers for endless litigation. Only that will bankrupt Big Tobacco. □

Clinton and China, Unraveling

NEW YORK, JUNE 19

On the matter of President Clinton's trip to China, a few observations:

1. Why did he not go earlier? This is an important question leveled in the context of Mr. Clinton's statement last Thursday to the National Geographic Society. The trip would be the first visit by an American President to China in this decade, he reminded us. Again: Why? Mr. Clinton has been President since January 1993. If it was so important to go to China, why did he wait nearly six years? It isn't as if there has been a total diplomatic freeze, on the order of the 1959-72 Sino-American freeze. What caused the delay?

2. If it was not necessary to go earlier, what exactly prompted *this* trip? Is it that Mr. Clinton saw a great opportunity ahead of him, and feared that if he didn't take it, the Chinese wouldn't love him in December as they loved him in July? What is that opportunity? Is it an opening the success of which requires total preliminary secrecy, much as Mr. Nixon shrouded in secrecy his plans to go to China in 1972, and to negotiate with North Vietnam?

3. Defenders of Mr. Clinton's insistence that he had to conform to conventional decorum and appear in Tiananmen Square plead the importance of Chinese face. And that's true, it is very important. Mao Tse-tung the great revolutionist nevertheless adhered to the traditions of the Middle Kingdom that required foreigners to pause outside Peking before entering the hallowed capital. Thus Mr. Nixon and the

press that preceded him touched down at Shanghai before moving on to Peking. So the Chinese have face, the Yankees don't have face, sez who?

4. The alternatives to his agreeing to make this trip, said Mr. Clinton, were isolationist. But of course that isn't really true. For one thing, to turn down an invitation is not to ignore the other guy—on the contrary, it's to pay special attention to him. And we are hardly isolationist in our economic dealings with China. Last year we imported approximately \$62 billion worth of Chinese products. That year the Chinese imported about \$13 billion worth of our products. This is so because of the general poverty of China. The fastest way to do something about that is for the Chinese to import a copy of Milton Friedman's book *Capitalism and Freedom*, and to let down their trade barriers. Is Mr. Clinton preparing to pull out a pair of scissors and cut a ceremonial ribbon repealing anti-U.S. practices? Has he been working on this for six years, ever since he insisted publicly that we should deny Most Favored Nation treatment to China unless it improved human rights? To whom did he confide all this secret planning? Ron Brown?

5. May 30, 1988. Moscow. "President Reagan hammered at the rights issue in afternoon speeches May 30 at the Danilov Monastery in Moscow and at Spaso House [home of the U.S. ambassador]. At the monastery, a thirteenth-century Russian Orthodox complex, the President called for the Soviet government to permit closed churches to be reopened. Americans, he said, 'feel it keenly when religious freedom is denied to anyone anywhere.'"

A one-shot Reagan human-rights spasm nestled in a monastery and then within the walls of his own embassy? Oh no. May 31, Moscow. "The highlight of Reagan's third day in the USSR was an afternoon address to the students of the Lenin Hills campus of Moscow State University, Gorbachev's alma mater. Speaking beneath a large bust of V. I. Lenin, the founder of Soviet Communism, the President said: 'Today the world looks expectantly to signs of change, steps toward greater freedom in the Soviet Union. We watch and we hope as we see positive changes taking place. There are some I know in your society who fear that change will bring only disruption and discontinuity, who fear to embrace the hope of the future . . . Sometimes it takes faith.'" A year after that the Berlin Wall came down, and two years later the Soviet Union dissolved. Post hoc propter hoc? No, that trip can't be identified as loosening

the stone that brought on the freedom landslide. But it did give Americans a great draft of self-pride, and it gave Russians a great thrill to know that in their own capital city, the head of the other superpower could say publicly what so many of them could say in those days only to themselves, and in their prayers. □

The Doc's Progress

NEW YORK, JUNE 11

On successive weeks the public learned that a medical insight has suggested a way to go to—kill cancer; and that a second (and unrelated) study suggests that we are no closer than ever to devising the means to stop a cold. The cancer story, the story of a quiet, mythogenic research doctor who has been plugging away at his notion that cancer can't extrude its poisons unless it is fed, made huge headlines and is featured in both *Time* and *Newsweek*, as well it should be. Over 500,000 Americans die every year from cancer. Moreover, its ugly face putrefies life, attacking the very young and bringing agony to the very old. It did not surprise that when Moses Judah Folkman's thirty-year-long efforts to devise the means to deny tumors the nourishment of blood hit the front page of the *New York Times*, the reaction was tumultuous. On the stock market, the experimenting company (EntreMed) rose in price by 700 per cent, settling down to 400 per cent. And what seemed like every cancer sufferer in America put in for the two drugs developed by Dr. Folkman and his laboratory. But of course it isn't yet known whether they will actually do for human beings what they so beneficently do for mice.

The cold news is really very bad news. Jane Brody of the *New York Times* advises us that the medical school at the University of Pittsburgh and the Health Sciences Center at the University of Virginia recruited 276 healthy volunteers aged 18 to 55. They were given physical, social, and psychological examinations; then they were placed in quarantine, and cold viruses were deposited in their nasal passages. On each of five successive days they were examined. Who became infected, and who developed symptoms of a cold? The heroes in question were paid \$800 to go through this procedure, which sum should surely be the minimum wage for anyone letting a cold be induced.

The tests didn't give us any news one could classify as welcome. It transpires that stress is a very big factor in catching colds.

Stress is caused by the obvious things (getting fired, going broke, being cuckolded) but also by unsuspected things, e.g., isolation. If you are socially active, with your family, with friends, with business associates, your level of stress is low, and that equanimity does what?

It tends—we learn—to make you resistant to cold viruses. If you are sad and lonely you won't for that reason necessarily catch a cold. But if a cold bug is floating around, it is likelier to victimize you than if you were vibrant and mixing it up with friends and family.

There are those (I'm one) who suffer most grievously from common colds. I have predicted that when I die, the cause of death will be a common cold. But the logic here must be carefully traced. If A then B does not mean if not B then not A. A friend who is a renowned doctor got a cold so incapacitating last January as to keep him home for 23 days, unprecedented in his experience. The doctor, treating a dozen patients every day, is exposed to myriad cold germs, but the same would be true of subway riders and airplane passengers. It is manifestly incorrect to assume that sudden social despondency aggravated his condition; so that we learn from random experiences nothing more than that you can be intensely social, and still get floored by the common cold.

The search for cures is healthy, even if a philosophical turn of mind is forced upon us ever since Ponce de León came back from Florida in the sixteenth century without the vial of water that would give him eternal youth. Death is a sullen absolute; but there are people alive who would be dead except for these medical discoveries. It is instructive, at inquisitive gatherings of family and friends, to ask around: How many would be dead but for the medicines discovered in the past fifty-odd years? A statistic on the matter isn't readily come by, so that one's feel for it is impressionistic. Is it safe to say that 20 per cent of Americans are alive who otherwise would not be?

The lure of medical discovery is a potent drug and Dr. Folkman is the embodiment of the scientific hero. He goes to great lengths to fight off publicity. He gives credit to his colleagues in any conceivable situation. He has endured the aggressive contempt of many contemporaries during his long struggle. He is separated by googols from the 276 cold-detection volunteers, but shares a muse with them. How heavily we depend upon, and how insufficiently we venerate, these pioneers. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER

FLORENCE KING

THE woman of mystery has never been an American type. Maintaining a vague "past" runs up against high-school yearbooks, friendly seatmates asking "Whereya from?," and TV shows such as *This Is Your Life* where everyone we would prefer to forget comes crashing through a rose-covered trellis.

We have always associated the woman of mystery with unstable Middle European governments that fell a lot and citizens with forged "papers" who went underground a lot, but that's all changed now. Monica Lewinsky has taken the woman of mystery and painted her red, white, and blue all over, especially red. Thanks to her *Vanity Fair* photo-op and the reception accorded it, American women have learned how to be mysterious in a democracy: do something so idiotic that people from all walks of life lie awake nights racking their brains trying to figure out why you did it.

The racking and figuring got off to a rousing start when *Time* published the fan-dancer picture. Normally blasé talking heads cawed "How could she?" and "What possessed her?" like querulous chaperones, while tolerant-or-bust Richard Cohen fumed, "What was she thinking? What was Ginsburg thinking? Where were Lewinsky's parents?"

William Ginsburg, self-described "avuncular family friend," took credit for the whole idea, saying Monica needed the photo spread to boost her morale and renew her sense of herself as a desirable female after her months as a shut-in. This was believable in that nothing Ginsburg says is beyond belief, but then, true to form, he gilded the lily. Setting himself up as a Moses with one Israelite, he blamed Monica's psychological captivity on Pharaoh Ken Starr and thundered, "Let her libido go!"

I suspect the libido he wanted to liberate was not Monica's but his own.

The first lurid hint of disquiet on the avuncular front was his claim to have kissed her infant thighs. Combine this with her only outings, when the two of them hit every steak house in Washington, and what do you have? The eating scene from the movie *Tom Jones* in which the Deadly Sin of gluttony symbolized the Deadly Sin of lust.

Each outing brought him one steak house closer to immolation in the charcoal fire in his loins, but knowing his chances were nil, he dreamed up the photo session as another vicarious way to possess her. That he masterminded the whole thing, from the clothes to the poses, seems obvious. The flouncy, flirty, Fifties-era motif could not have been Monica's idea; only the most provincial Southern girls still think it's cute to fling sidelong glances and peek from behind feathers. These are the fantasies of a man for whom a stripper in baboon-hindquarters red was an overworked law student's idea of hot.

The debate over why Monica went along with it left me wondering why anyone should even ask. Why do 35-year-old divorcees remarry in formal church weddings wearing long white dresses and veils? Why do people walk over graves at cemeteries? Why do women breastfeed and change babies' diapers in public—and even at restaurant tables? Because nobody knows how to behave anymore. The collapse of savoir-faire pervades Monica's photo shoot. You don't wear a diamond if you're not engaged because you just don't. You don't wear dark polish on short nails because you just don't. You don't play with the American flag because you just don't. And you don't expect Monica's America to understand because the only just-don't they recognize is political incorrectness.

She reminds me of two other girls about her age who made more history than was good for them when they got involved with famous men. The first, born almost exactly a century earlier than Monica, was Marie Vetsera, whose new-money family wanted into Vien-

nese society. Since the pinnacle of that society was Hapsburg royalty, Marie's mother turned a blind eye when an influential friend placed her daughter's zaftig teenage charms in the path of Crown Prince Rudolf.

Historian Betty Kelen's words could be the accompanying text for Monica's photo spread:

Not even the soggiest retelling of her story has ever insisted that Marie was intelligent. She is instantly recognizable as one of those plump girls whose moods alternate between bubbling affection and moping depression. Had she been put in a box with a lid on it until she was older, she might have brought to some bureaucrat the enchantment of a submissively amorous and soulful wife with excellent judgment in cooks.

Marie was put in a box all right. Rudolf decided to shoot himself, so he asked if he could shoot her too and she said okay. Much racking and figuring has gone into learning her reason, but as far as historians can tell she went along with it because she went along with it, leaving posterity no choice but to turn her into a romantic heroine.

AN unnamed media consultant quoted in the *Washington Times* said the photos show "the new, contemplative, take-charge Monica . . . much more serious, much more down-to-earth, much more intelligent, much more in charge of her own affairs. . . . It gets her away from this image of a helpless damsel. You are definitely seeing the birth of the new Monica."

This could be the accompanying text for the original drawings of the Gibson Girl, the "new woman" of the early twentieth century who threw off Victorian shackles to become man's equal. One of the models used by Charles Dana Gibson was a creamy brunette named Evelyn Nesbit who posed on the beach in a black bathing dress. The mistress of famed architect Stanford White, who built her an indoor playground in their love nest, Evelyn later married Harry Thaw, an insanely jealous millionaire who found out about White and shot him dead during a musical revue on the roof of Madison Square Garden in 1906.

Harry got off scot-free but Evelyn was ruined. For years she was the object of smirks and jokes until, at long last, a movie of her life treated her sympathetically. It was called *The Girl in the Red Velvet Swing*. □

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